# THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR®

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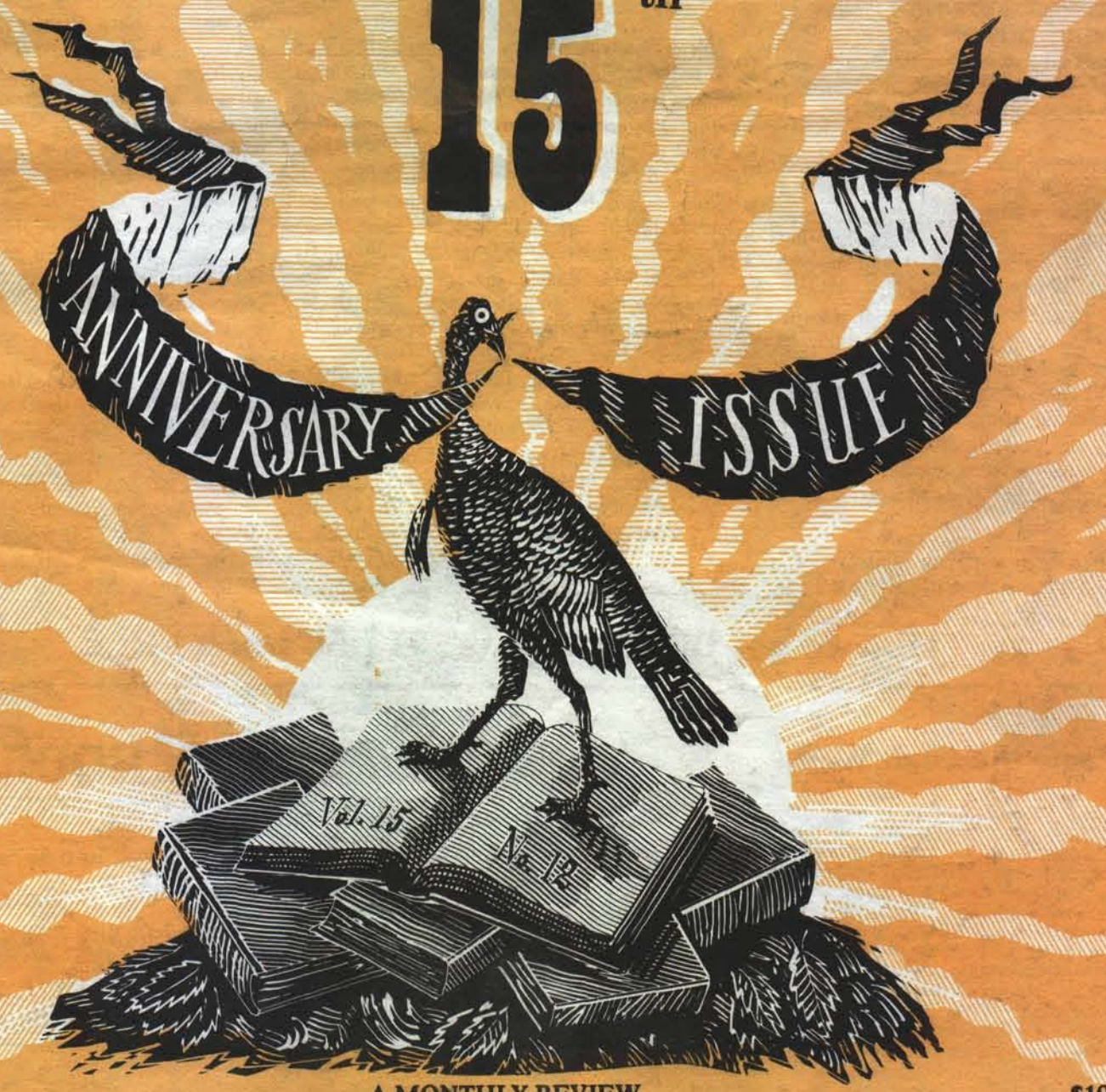
**Midge Decter, Maurice Cranston, Robert Lekachman,**

**Josiah Lee Auspitz, Werner J. Dannhauser, Taki,**

**Karl O'Lessker, Robert Nisbet, Kenneth S. Lynn . . .**

## 15th ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

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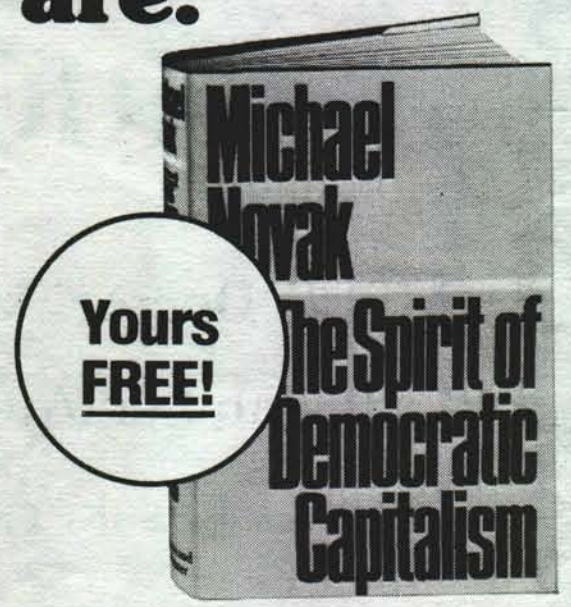
# "A stunning achievement... may prove one of those rare books that actually changes the way things are."

## – *Commentary*




***From Samuel McCracken's extraordinary review in* Commentary:**

It is not so easy to exculpate those who still hold to the superstitions of socialism. Whatever can be said of the status of Marxist theory, the failure — utter, consistent, and continuing — of Marxist practice is apparent to anyone with eyes to see....It has not been clear why socialism should be so esteemed despite its failure and — the inevitable corollary — capitalism so despised despite its success; most observers who have found the situation troubling enough to warrant attention have confined themselves to vague speculations about the contrariness of intellectuals. Now, Michael Novak has made some progress in clearing this matter up for us, but this is only a fringe benefit of his remarkable book. For *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism* is perhaps the first serious attempt to construct a theology of capitalism. That this very phrase rings a little strange in the ears even of sympathetic hearers testifies to the compromised reputation of democratic capitalism even among many of its friends....

Novak rehabilitates the moral stature of democratic capitalism by showing how little it resembles the caricatures of it which pass almost everywhere as analytic descriptions....Latin America did not develop largely because it did not adopt an economic system that allowed development. Moreover, the Catholic Church was originally hostile to capitalism because of conservative objections to liberalism: what the 19th-century Church attacked as "*liberalismo*" always proves upon analysis to be democratic capitalism. Ironically, the liberation theologians, opposed to the traditional hierarchy in everything else, agree with it in despising capitalism and seeing it as the author of much woe for Latin America.

And so the Church, by opposing capitalism, appears to Novak as a major cause of poverty in Latin America. This is not an isolated instance for Novak: following a seminal study by H.R. Trevor-Roper, he traces the comparative affluence of Catholic and Protestant Europe, nearly always to the embarrassment of the former. Novak's own Church, then, becomes one of the causes of poverty in large parts of the world....This is, of course, a remarkable argument to be made by a leading Catholic intellectual, particularly one who is not only a theologian but a theologian far from the fashionable fringes of theological innovation — one who, for example, seems wholly comfortable talking about God as if He undoubtedly exists and as if the universe makes the most sense if one assumes that He not only created it but takes a continuing interest in it.

...Novak rejects democratic socialism as firmly as he does the totalitarian variant, even though until comparatively recently he was himself a democratic socialist. His account of his own movement from Christian socialism to democratic capitalism is insightful and astringent. As a budding Catholic intellectual, he tells us, he read heavily in those European writers who saw capitalism as "protestant": anarchic, individualistic, rejecting of tradition. He once found this position persuasive, but now believes it to have been a misguided nostalgia for village values considered in those days one of the good things about the Middle Ages. He continued to believe in socialism, as do a great many intellectuals, religious or irreligious, because its ostensible ethical system seemed so superior to that of capitalism. It took some time more for him to conclude that "the dream of democratic socialism is inferior to the dream of democratic capitalism, and that the latter's superiority in actual practice is undeniable."

This statement might well serve as the epigraph of the book....Each of the parts of the statement is important: it is not unusual for men to believe that capitalism in practice is superior to socialism in practice, a conclusion which leaves room for the perennial and damaging belief that if only socialism were done right it would bring on the millennium. But Novak maintains — with a richness of analysis that challenges the reviewer — that socialism is also inferior to capitalism in theory....Novak's most important achievement is to spell this superiority out in detail, especially in the ethical area which most intellectuals have long conceded to socialism....

One need not share Novak's religious perspective on capitalism to find this book a stunning achievement, but those who have hitherto preferred socialism on religious, or indeed on purely ethical, grounds must now face an argument of immense weight — and one produced by a former fellow believer. If enough of them read it, *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism* may prove one of those rare books that actually changes the way things are.

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*The American Spectator* was founded in 1924 by George Nathan and Truman Newberry over a cheap domestic ale in McSorley's Old Ale House. In 1967 the Saturday Evening Club took it over, rechristening it *The Alternative: An American Spectator;* but by November 1977 the word "alternative" had acquired such an esoteric fragrance that in order to discourage unsolicited manuscripts from florists, beauticians, and other creative types the Club reverted to the magazine's original name. *The American Spectator* is now published monthly at 102 West Sixth Street, Bloomington, Indiana. Second class postage paid at Bloomington, Indiana, and additional mailing offices.

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# E D I T O R I A L

## THE VOICE GROWS LOUDER

by R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

*The American Spectator* is now fifteen years old and so is a period of unparalleled American decline in culture and in politics. There you have it: Ideas do, indeed, have consequences.

This cultural and political deterioration has not greatly corrupted the Republic's common folk, though the welfare teat and the *Zeitgeist*'s mephitis have transformed some among the lower orders into veritable invalids. Rather, it has corrupted our elites, especially our intellectual elites, whose members have slavishly laid down their *hauteur* and turned themselves into just plain yahoos, albeit sexless, infantile, and terrified by the spooky dogmas of a grotesque fundamentalist religion, Liberalism *manqué*.

Now the simultaneity of America's cultural decline and *The American Spectator*'s growth is not something you are apt to read about in the *New York Times* or any other forum of Liberal orthodoxy, but then the enthusiasms boomed in those provinces and the personalities addressed there increasingly bear very little semblance to the real world. Think of it: Our major media features godlike feminists coolly overturning four thousand years of convention and biology; wholesome homosexuals smilingly coming down from the cross; CIA agents and tycoons, working their devious wills upon the average Joe. On television we see the talking heads consulting with Ralph Nader, Jane Fonda, Ed Asner, Gloria Steinem—people so morbid that it is prudent to conclude that they do not actually exist. Has anyone ever seen Ralph Nader in a restaurant or walking his dog? Is there a prototype for any of these esoterics anywhere in recorded history?

Televisionland is a fantasy realm. So are college campuses. There, pseudo-studies, instructing women on their plumbing and everyone else on bizarreries too numerous to mention, have overwhelmed the liberal arts. Even in the humanities, college profs lecture on bugaboos once credible only to cranks. Journalism is equally as decadent. Investigative reporters now probe ageless fantasies more properly found in the domain of the he-man and true confession pulps. Most editorials are the utmost bulsh.

Conversely, in the media and on campus reality is almost never considered. Contented customers, happy Rotarians, Methodists en route to barbecue, irate taxpayers, CIA agents who are morally upright and vacationing with their families in Naples, Florida, are not the stuff of media intercourse. No wonder *The American Spectator*'s rise and Liberalism's decline have not been widely noted. Well, let me say it here and now. The rise of *The American Spectator* and the decline of Liberalism is no coincidence. It is God's will.

If our Liberals think they suffered during McCarthyism I wince to think of how they are going to feel in the future. Yet, they deserve it. In waging the battle of ideas they have rarely been honorable, and they have usually been quite shockingly deceitful. For fifteen years the battle has gone thus: As a hubbub arises stage right, the goody-goody Liberal dutifully averts his gaze. He cocks his ear to the left, and from that direction the din grows ever more furious. What relief! Utopians call for reform. Quacks trumpet snake oil. Malcontents shout oaths. And above it all there is the sober insistent exhortation for new priorities and new initiatives. The Liberal grows earnest. These are the exhortations of the clinically insane, and in short order the Liberal will adopt them as his very own. The system works!

When this magazine was founded by college students driven by premonitions that left-wing radicalism was not so auspicious as the profs assumed, Liberalism was the regnant orthodoxy of our culture. It was secure and decorous in its redoubts on campus and in government bureaucracies. Any challenge to its authority from the Right was slammed down with righteous fury. Yet when the challenge came from the Left there was dialogue. What has been going on since the mid-1960s is that Liberals have allowed authority to drain from all our cultural and political institutions. Liberals have been as impotent at turning back left-wing fanaticism as the nudists have been at influencing the fur industry. Today's Liberal has descended into mere inanity. He is incapable of defining the most fundamental matters. What is a man? What is a woman? What is democracy, crime, liberty, art? Ask an orangutan. For most modern Liberals reality has no objective meaning.

A perfect specimen of the true blue Liberal is Bishop James Armstrong, mellifluous potentate of the National Council of Churches. Recently he displayed the Liberal's habit of mind in a gruesome performance on "Firing Line" with William F. Buckley, Jr. On all the large issues of the day he assured Buckley that he shared a statesman's concern: strong military, human rights, prosperity, spiritual wholesomeness, etc., etc. The only problem is that Bishop Armstrong rejects the counsel of all those authorities that traditionally preside over these matters. In his eyes the American military, the American government, American business, American labor, traditional theology, were discredited long ago. Listening to his gabble reminded me of what we have witnessed for over a decade: the high-minded Liberal stepping into the breach (Vietnam, presidential leadership, education, etc.) and bringing everything to confusion. This is his historical patrimony. My guess is that today hardly a goody-

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*R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. is editor-in-chief of* The American Spectator, *a position he has held since founding the magazine in 1967. He writes a weekly column for the* Washington Post, *syndicated nationally by King Features. His most recent book is* Public Nuisances. *Currently he is at work on a book about the Carter grandeur.*



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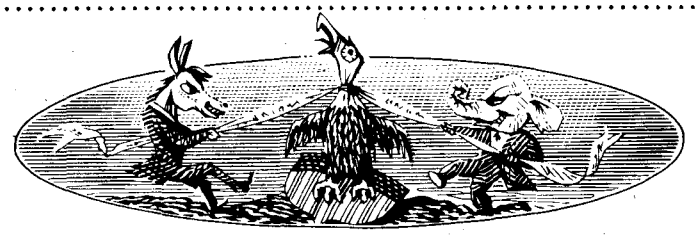
goody Liberal exists who does not hear a voice in the back of his skull whispering "You are a little creep." Even Galbraith hears the voice. The voice does not lie.

For fifteen years *The American Spectator* has been trying to amplify this voice. I believe we have been successful. Liberal students of the Danger On The Right have studiously avoided reporting the news, but *The American Spectator* grows with every year. Our circulation, once free and numbering only a few thousand, has increased to a paid circulation of over forty thousand. The great journalistic hopes of the Liberal, all funded by old and lavish wealth, appear to much fanfare then collapse, but *The American Spectator* endures. Moreover we have not gathered together merely the old-line conservatives and libertarians. We have brought together a large number of those liberals who could endure the voice in their skulls no longer. *The American Spectator*'s distinctive position in American intellectual life is that it has been the journal where old Liberals joined without rancor with conservatives and libertarians. It was the first magazine where neoconservatives and conservatives cohabited; this point is missed only by morons and slippery Liberal scholars like Peter Steinfels whose bogus studies of the non-Liberal intellectual ferment have been essays in damage control.

Thirty-six years ago in "Politics and the English Language" George Orwell wrote that "In our age there is no such thing as 'keeping out of politics.' All issues are political issues, and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia." Orwell had it right, but did he realize how far the politicization of life was going to go? Did he realize that politics would be jammed into our most intimate activities? The so-called Liberals have created a wholly politicized fantasy world and slammed it down hard on all of us. They have become the third wave of totalitarian brutes to threaten liberty and Western values in this century, and all their protests against such *bêtes noires* as the Moral Majority amount to so much picklewash against this colossal fact.

Well, the readers and writers of *The American Spectator* cheerfully oppose these louts. There is diversity under our roof and the crowd grows larger all the time. We know that we are the party of liberty and civilized values. Those outside are yahoos. Over the next fifteen years the little voices in the yahoos' skulls are going to get louder. Then they will fall silent. □

# C A P I T O L  I D E A S



## MISSION TO AMERICA

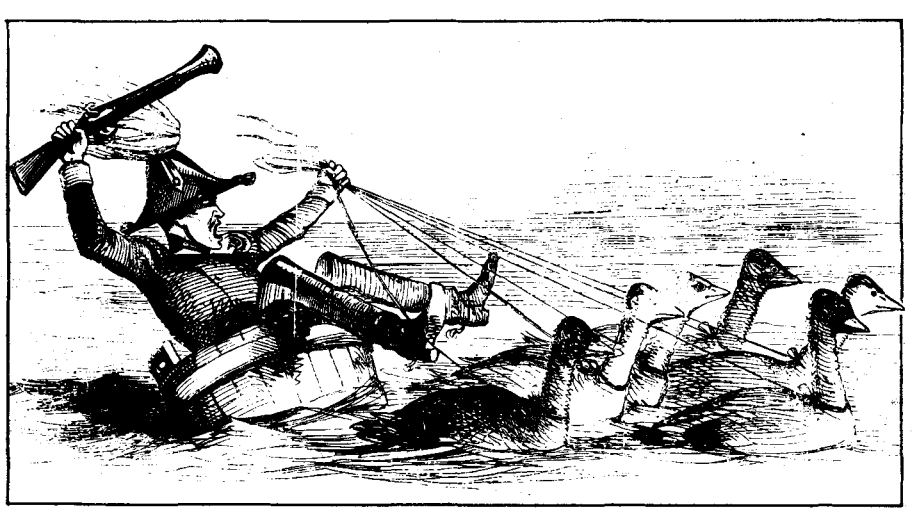
by Tom Bethell

It was twenty years ago this autumn that I arrived in the United States. As the Queen Elizabeth was nudged by tugs into the New York dock, and I gazed out at the stately skyline, a crew-cut American at my elbow remarked that I would not have to worry about Red Indians shooting arrows at me as I set foot on the pier, nor were the skyscrapers in imminent danger of falling down, should I decide to take a stroll through Manhattan. I thanked the insolent man for his advice, with the mental note that I should by now be giving it, not receiving it. After all, we were already tied up alongside the jetty. Furthermore, my passport was British, and my credentials were excellent. Not three months earlier I had graduated from a famous British university with a Bachelor of Arts degree. I clearly understood, then, that Americans were awaiting only my instructions and advice. Missionary work lay ahead.

Americans, one had been told many times, were childlike, in addition to being seriously deficient in culture. Still, as a result of abundant natural resources, they were prosperous beyond measure, and generous to a fault. Moreover, one sensed that they knew their place, which was subordinate to that of an Englishman. If one would only take the time to explain, patiently, simply, and clearly, the various ways in which their country could be improved, why, then they would be overwhelmingly grateful. So I set about my missionary task with enthusiasm.

It's quite a relief to me now that I cannot remember a single thing that I then said. Undoubtedly, however, I enlightened my hosts with some profound ruminations on the topic of billboards and their proliferation, the ubiquity of gasoline stations, the pre-packaging of food, and in fact all of life, and various other observations suitable for inclusion in a Bill Moyers commentary .

Your average Englishman not only begins to preach within five minutes of stepping off the boat. To give him his due, he is also likely to come to his senses before too many months have passed. Within about six months he may frequently be seen in a pensive posture, staring down at the sidewalk with pursed lips gripped between thumb and forefinger, looking for all the world like someone who has absent-mindedly forgotten one of his possessions, and is trying to remember where. In fact (as I can attest) he has just been struck by a horrible wave of doubt. Has anything he has been saying in the past six months made any sense at all? There follows a period of unaccustomed silence, lasting for several weeks. If he stays on in the country much longer than that, there is a good chance that he will end up defending it against its numerous detractors, mostly homegrown. (There are always exceptions, an example being the left-wing writer Alexander Cockburn, who has preferred to remain in the missionary position and has found it much to his taste.)



What really amazes me, looking back on that period twenty years ago, is that so many Americans I met not only tolerated my rude remarks, but eagerly elicited them, enjoyed them, agreed with them, and pressed me for even more detailed indictments. And that of course is the main reason why newly arrived Englishmen are inclined to behave the way they do. They are egged on from the word go. You have just arrived in America and you wish to be lionized at Manhattan parties? Then tell the natives how backward they are. Or, rather, tell the assembled tribe how deplorable "Middle America" is. Hostesses galore will scribble your phone number down. (But I do not wish to suggest that Mr. Cockburn or anyone else is motivated by such base considerations.) No Englishman in his right mind would dare to speak comparably to the French about France, even though he might well feel more critically disposed toward France than America. The reason he

*Tom Bethell is* The American Spectator*'s Washington correspondent.*



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keeps his mouth shut of course is that the French wouldn't tolerate such behavior for an instant.

I should have realized years ago that this characteristically American thirst for accusation was a sign of grave weakness in the country. It goes almost without saying, incidentally, that we are talking only about the educated classes—what the Soviets call the "ruling circles." (The phrase is useful, although the Soviets are a bit out of date because they mean it to apply to such people as the chairman of Exxon, Reagan's kitchen cabinet, and so on.) The working class seems more or less immune to the disease.

Such self-denigration would be understandable and sensible in a country which had obviously failed—the Soviet Union, for example. But it is really grotesque that in America the educated elites (by and large) have been filled with loathing for a system which rapidly elevated the whole country, and themselves within it, to a pre-eminent position in the world. How can this be? One must conclude that there is some aspect of the American system which is on the whole congenial to the workers and distasteful to the intelligentsia. What can this be?

The history of the world, in a way, is a history of knights and barons finding ways to lord it over peasants and serfs. With the American Revolution, however, there was a dramatic break with the past. The framers of the Constitution understood the crucial point that only through the power of coercion can barons rule serfs. And only governments and laws can grant this power of coercion. Therefore the new Constitution built a stout fence around government: ***These*** powers you may have—these and none other. In unspecified areas the people shall be left alone and shall be free to decide things for themselves.

Well, things worked out very nicely for the serfs as a result. If they decided that they wanted to make certain things, houses and tables and chairs, for example, they just went right ahead and made them without having to get permission from anyone. Then they would exchange these things among themselves, and they would decide the terms of trade, too. No one had to get planning permission or anything of that nature. And pretty soon they weren't serfs any longer. They were Middle America. Did they want some music, by any chance? They went right ahead and made that, too—called it "jazz" or "ragtime" or "blues." No one had to phone Europe first, to make sure it was okay with the authorities, no one needed to apply for a grant from the National Endowment, or check it out with Stravinsky or Sir Thomas Beecham.

Not a bad system, you may say, but how do you think the barons felt about it? Well of course there weren't any. That's what everyone said about America, even newly arrived Englishmen: No class system here. Hmmmmm, the Englishmen wondered to themselves in quiet little corners. Is that really such a good idea? Could be an awful lot of brainpower going to waste . . . and of course in America there was and there remains a class of *potential* barons, consisting of people who had gone to all that trouble and expense to go to places like Harvard and Yale and Princeton—to elevate themselves above their peers in other words—and had then emerged, years later, with diplomas and law degrees in hand. To do what? Become managers of men, by any chance? The serfs and the peasants were already managing perfectly well on their own, thank you very much. Nevertheless, the diploma'd ones were positive there was *something* they could do to

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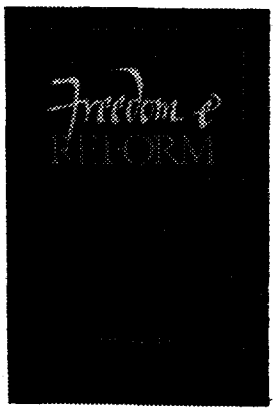

Freedom and Reform
*Essays in Economics and Social Philosophy*

By Frank H. Knight
Foreword by James M. Buchanan

Fifteen essays, first collected in 1947, treating social, political, economic, and philosophical problems from Frank Knight's characteristic perspective. Professor Knight (1885–1972), author of the economic classic, *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit* (1921), taught economics for many years at the University of Chicago.

In the Foreword Professor James M. Buchanan says of Knight, "He possessed the elementary gumption to stake out his intellectual-moral position unawed by either the 'wisdom of the ages' or the potential censure of his peers in the academy. He was willing to acknowledge his own vulnerability to error, and when he was confused, he was not reluctant to say so." Hardcover $14.00, Paperback $6.50.

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# THE CONTINUING CRISIS

•October—electioneering at its most exuberant, at its sweatiest, at its most brazen and idiotic; yet despite the Democrats' and the pundits' dire yells of economic catastrophe and mossback tyranny, the voters merely shrugged. Apparently they were not persuaded that Tip O'Neill's spendthrifts had a better program than our Ron, and on November 3 the results were about what one expects in an off-year election. This is not to say that the Republicans ran a persuasive campaign. Truth be known, they ran a surprisingly timorous campaign, and many Republican financial contributors have every reason to ask for their money back. The only Republicans who showed any fire were Congressman Jack Kemp, who flew thither and yon reminding the electorate that Republicans are tax cutters and the Democrats are tax raisers, and Lew Lehrman, who came from nowhere to within three percentage points of the governorship of New York, winning 55 of 62 counties and losing only because New York City's Democrats herded together all the welfare state's slaves, driving them to polls to vote for their endangered government gruel. Otherwise most of the Republicans followed the strategy of Harding's 1920 front porch campaign. Only they surpassed it; they hid under the porch.

•In California Edmund G. Brown, the candidate from outer space, was defeated in his race for the U.S. Senate despite a last minute decision by the secretary of state to allow the mental patients of Patton State Hospital for the criminally insane to vote. In Virginia, Republican Paul Trible captured Harry Byrd's senate seat, after giving the voters a good laugh when his helicopter mistakenly landed in the midst of one of his opponent's rallies. And on television practically all the stone-headed commentators lost, revealing once again their ineffable stupidity and humorlessness. All had been arduously prophesying Republican disaster, despite an abundance of evidence to the contrary. On November 3 the stock market skyrocketed, the Dow Jones Industrial Average climbing a record 43.41 points to the highest level in history, 1065.49.

•Over at Planned Parenthood, Inc. the sense of claustrophobia intensified for those who hope to spread their science beyond Scarsdale, owing to a somber—albeit goofball—UN report to the Third Asian and Pacific Population Conference, meeting in some place called Colombo. As the report demonstrates, birth control remains an elusive goal in the Third World where the nubile cutie snickers at injecting the intrauterine device into her person, fearing that the thing will float inside her, lodging within her cerebrum or perhaps ballooning from one of her dainty nasal cavities at an untimely moment, say during a tender interlude with her guy. And the Third World guy is no more cooperative, for he is often given to swallowing his condom or boiling it before use, which might make it more sanitary but hardly more comfortable. In one instance the UN's birth control efforts may have actually caused a population boom. In a remote Asian village UN field workers instructed local Casanovas on the use of the condom, using bamboo poles duly sheathed as learning devices. Months later they returned to discover the village filled with plump and irate damsels. The yokels had been atop them with renewed ardor, always neatly slipping the wonderful condoms onto bamboo poles.

•In legal developments, Atlanta's superior-court system is in ferment, and it could go either way: back to the draconian past or forward into the New Dawn. The backward-yearners took heart when Superior Court Judge Hilton Fuller gave the toothsome Mr. John Thomas Harmon a 20-year sentence for biting the posterior of a perfect stranger as she walked along an Atlanta street in July 1981. The forward-lookers whooped it up when Superior Court Judge Clinton Deveaux granted temporary freedom to a Great Dane sentenced to life imprisonment for killing two fellow canines, a sentence that is in itself an advance over the dark days when such a noble creature would surely have been destroyed. From Manchester, Iowa comes word that there has been a substantial decrease in the frequency that West Delaware High School students request to use the comfort station during class time since a neoconservative instructor began ordering incontinent students to carry toilet paper and to wear toilet seats around their necks while en route.

•On October 8 the Polish "Parliament" banned the Solidarity trade union, touching off demonstrations throughout the country and bringing a scowl from Pope John Paul II who condemned the action during the canonization rites for Auschwitz victim Maximilian Kolbe. American reformer Sara Jane Moore has granted a rare interview at California's Federal Correction Facility in Alameda County, during which she dabbed her eyes and expressed regret that her 1975 attempt on President Gerald R. Ford's life had been a failure. "This is the price one pays in this country for dissent," she sniffled. Finally, it appears that Miss Jodie Foster has softened her attitude toward the indefatigable John Hinckley and is even launching a literary career thanks to her burgeoning relationship with him. In the December *Esquire* she sympathizes with his infatuation, and dilates sagaciously about the whole ordeal: how she loathed every moment of it, "every sick letter I received, I made sure to read," "after a period of death-dodging you learn to believe that you've been picked for survival." In sum: The daft essay oozes with the mixture of Freudian flumdiddle and shameless bathos that has come to characterize the solemnities of the age, including this prosy description of her post-assassination-attempt condition as the FBI's interrogators closed in: "I started to cry a bit, then my tears turned to laughter. I couldn't stop laughing. It was simply too funny, too bizarre, too painful . . . My body jerked in painful convulsions. I hurt. . . ." Enough!

•Mrs. Harry Truman died. President Reagan announced a United States offer to sell 23 million tons of grain to one of the leading underdeveloped nations of Eurasia. And Secretary of State George Schultz declared that the United States would vamoose from any United Nations organization that excluded Israel from participation, including the General Assembly. In Maryland, a tenured professor in the state university's Afro-American Studies Program was indicted on charges of receiving more than $24,000 in kickbacks from three student assistants in exchange for phony jobs or academic credit. The professor, Mr. Al-Tony Gilmore, has presided over an independent studies course and "The History and Politics of the Black Athlete in America." He is the author of *Bad Nigger.*

•In Camden, New Jersey, Miss Tina Stevens and her mother have admitted that they duped an electrician into giving them his life savings as a consideration for transferring his bad luck to a nearby chicken. And American art continues to leap from strength to strength despite the treachery of Tom Wolfe and his know-nothings. In San Francisco, 25-year-old Mr. Rob Stephenson, the Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini of Professor Ellen Zweig's creative arts class, climbed atop the San Francisco State University Student Union Building at 2 p.m., lowered his jeans, trimmed the foliage around his male member, and with Barbasol shave cream and a razor shaved his pubic area. Part of a class project, the complicated performance seems to have earned him high marks with Prof. Zweig who was very censorious as the campus *gendarmes* wheeled young Stephenson away. "I can't believe this is a college campus in 1982. It's like medieval times, this reaction to the human body." Still Stephenson has a way to go before he creates his masterpiece. "There is a history of people using their body as art," Prof. Zweig intoned, and she recalled the "Viennese artist named Rudolph Schwarzkogler, who cut off his penis inch by inch." Finally, *The American Spectator* came out with a plush, sixty-page issue to celebrate fifteen years of pinning the tail on the nation's donkeys. —*RET*



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Midge Decter

# WHATEVER HAPPENED TO AMERICA?

**The First Lady of Neoconservatism diagnoses the national hypochondria and judges that the Republic is too young to die.**

In the past fifteen years or so, American society has been positively riven by public disagreements. Shall we keep the peace by being strong or by being accommodating? Shall we render justice to previously mistreated minority groups by changing our laws, the condition of our hearts, or our traditional political and economic arrangements? Shall we in turn alter the economic balance of the country by confiscating the disproportionate wealth of the wealthy or shall we turn them loose to create even greater wealth for everybody? Should we be pursuing an increase in the national wealth at all or should we rather recall ourselves to a less expansive, less extravagant way of life?

About one thing, however, I think it fair to say that there is universal agreement: Something is wrong with us. While no two groups might share a common understanding of where that something lies or by what name to call it, that there is a general uneasiness—a sense that is the very opposite of a sense of social well-being—seems to be beyond question.

Let me cite a few random symptoms from my own reading of our current dislocation.

In a time when contraception is easier, more effective, and more accessible than ever before, in several major cities in this country abortions are outnumbering live births. Say what you will about abortion, that it is a crime or on the other hand that it is a basic human right, the one thing you cannot say is that it is or ought to be the most convenient and most pleasant available method of birth control.

Or take another, less freighted symptom. In a time when all across the land people have arranged their lives so that they jump into an automobile to get from where they are to the nearest corner—you might say we have become a nation of the legless—hordes of people of all ages daily put on special costumes and special shoes, risking permanent damage to spine, knees, shins, and ankles, in order to jog to nowhere and back again.

In a not unrelated example, people have been campaigning most vociferously, sometimes violently, against foreign substances in the air, water, and food, claiming that their lives are being shortened by these alien substances and that therefore those who are responsible for their introduction into our natural atmosphere are little less than murderers. At the same time, many of these very same people (for this particular example is, of course, what they call class-specific) grow ever more accustomed to the use of cocaine, tranquilizers to offset the effects of that cocaine, hallucinogens to heighten their senses, sleeping pills to blacken them

out—all of this accompanied by the admittedly perilous solvent of alcohol.

Again, these people attend classes and therapy sessions whose purpose is to teach them how to get into connection with others—how to touch, how to feel, how to, forgive the expression, *relate*—and at the same time have become a vast new market for a piece of equipment called the "walkman" by means of which in all conceivable circumstances, at work and at play and in between, they literally shut themselves off from the outside world in order to march, as it were, to their own private and invisible drummers.

And what might we recount to one another about that whole area, absolutely central to human existence on earth, called the relations between the sexes? We might produce whole libraries devoted only to sad or absurd or ugly stories on the subject. A few suggestions will have to suffice.

Researchers report to us that a large, and increasing, number of boys and girls commence to sleep with one another in early adolescence. This is at the least acquiesced in and frequently positively encouraged by the relevant adults in their lives—in the name of health and naturalness. By the time of college, the girls profess to feel themselves manipulated and mistreated by males, and the boys . . . the boys line up in droves at the student health services seeking help with a problem whose initial presentation is depression and lack of energy and whose reality, once unmasked, is either the fear of, or the actual onset of, impotence.

Young women in the name of their individuality, independence, and self-fulfillment as women follow the herd into law schools and business schools, the same law schools and business schools whose male graduates they on the other hand decry for being unfeeling, driven, and so

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involved in the pursuit of success that they neglect wives, families, and the whole necessary range of instinctual and emotional life. In one and the same breath such young women have been heard to say that the heretofore male-dominated world of affairs has been a heartless and love-denying place, one they seek to liberate men from, and that in their own ambition to participate in this world they demand the right to be relieved of the necessity to marry and have children if they do not feel like it. If, on the other hand, for some reason they *do* feel like it, they further demand the right not to have to give primary attention to the needs of spouse and children. The shorthand description of this bent of mind is "heads you lose, tails I win." In a speech delivered a couple of years ago, Ms. Gloria Steinem stated the matter thus: "What has happened," she said, "is that we are becoming the men we once wanted to marry."

This might be presumed to be, as Ms. Steinem does in fact presume it to be, a satisfactory state of affairs—call it "the equality of condition." There is only one small hitch. The men that "we" once wanted to marry have responded to this assault on their worldly directed masculine untenderness in one of two ways—and in many, many cases in both ways simultaneously. First, they have withdrawn from the rigors of their allegedly no-longer-wanted and no-longer-needed performance as successful providers and protectors of the household. Female-headed households have become probably the single most active growth stock on the American market of social phenomena. Meanwhile, men have begun to display an unprecedented degree of preoccupation with what were once by and large held to be feminine concerns: such as, the care, beautification, and ornamentation (including perfuming) of their bodies; the state of their emotions, finely calibrated and openly discussed; decor; and the quality of their orgasms. But for normal differences in voice quality, eavesdroppers on conversations in those places where young men and women congregate to introduce themselves and become acquainted—singles bars, beaches, cocktail parties, adult education courses, and so on—might have difficulty in discovering which is the man and which is the woman. Who is telling inside stories of the flummery or incompetence of this or that chief executive officer, and who is offering the fruits of a new insight into this or that aspect of some personal relation?

A happy outcome, from the point of view of those wishing to eradicate distinctions between the sexes. But it somehow does not seem beside the point to ask, if this is a condition to be desired, how come there is so much resentment and discontent on the faces and in the voices of both sexes? And how come there is so much joyless bed-hopping and so much divorce for so little traditional cause?

The second response of men—and its difference from the first is not so great as it might appear—has been to shrug and to accede, largely for the sake of peace, to the demands of the women they hope, and mean, to sustain relations with, whether as wives, girlfriends, colleagues, or even daughters. If the woman is a colleague, a man responding in this fashion will be careful to mind his tongue and manners. He will, for instance, be careful to say "person" instead of "man" when referring to a general case, as in chairperson, or fireperson, or journeyperson. He will expunge from his vocabulary the word "girl," referring to every female over the age of two as a "woman." He will vacillate between holding open a door or going through it first, between taking a check or leaving it to be divided, depending on the signals he is given, as well as on how accurately he is able to interpret them. And he will keep his own thoughts, his own signals, and his own responses to himself—or perhaps share them with the boys on locker-room-type occasions.

If she is a serious girlfriend, he will accede again, this time taking a kind of relieved, if grim, advantage of the fact that his attentions to her now need be merely symbolic, that when it comes to the genuinely difficult demands of his traditional role—all those demands for protection, strength, attentiveness that are roughly summed up in that now-obsolete word "manly"—he can be absent.

I noticed the onset of this new arrangement many years ago. I have three daughters, and during their adolescence came to be aware that the American enlightened middle class was no longer training its young sons to such forms of masculine protectiveness as calling for their female companions of an evening and, above all, of seeing them home again late at night. These young men were very soon to pay for this lacuna in their upbringing. They were to pay internally by a massive class-wide case of neurasthenia whose symptoms ranged from persistent fatigue all the way to sexual impotence, as I have already noted. And they were to pay externally with the contempt and hostility of their female contemporaries, by then of college age, who played such tricks on them as sharing their dormitories, their rooms, even sometimes their beds, while keeping themselves sexually unavailable, or who derided them publicly, as in the early, rumbustious days of Women's Lib. The doffing of the brassiere and the raising of the hemline to crotch height of the late sixties and early seventies may have been mistaken for sexual invitation by these boys' uncomprehending fathers, but *they* got the message of teasing contempt which was the real meaning of that particular fashion among their female contemporaries. Moreover, it is one of America's many unpublished secrets of the time that more often than not the various undertakings of the student radical movement, while they may have been conceived and articulated by young men, were carried off through the hostile and doubly directed energies of the young women who pretended to be their comrades.

To return to adulthood, the adulthood we are witnessing now, the symbolic accession to the demand that men cease to distinguish themselves from women naturally


***"A philosophic system is an integrated view of existence. As a human being, you have no choice about the fact that you need a philosophy. Your only choice is whether you define your philosophy by a conscious, rational, disciplined process of thought...or let your subconscious accumulate a junk heap of unwarranted conclusions..."***

**PHILOSOPHY: WHO NEEDS IT**

**by**

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takes on its most serious forms in marriage—in all those marriages that are indeed leading with such bewildering frequency to divorce. Here let me offer one example that can stand in for the whole: the case of birthing and tending to babies. For perhaps the primary act of denigrating what is natural to masculinity and attempting to create a universal feminine takes place nowadays over the issue of childbirth. Giving birth to babies has fashionably become something that wives demand of their husbands up to the fullest extent possible. Since biology obdurately continues to refuse the interventions of both government and social fashion, the demand that men, too, give birth to babies must be limited to their participation as spectators only, but to the entire process from beginning to end. Husbands are not only being permitted but are being *morally required* to remain in full attendance in the delivery room, taking the detailed measure of what they have wrought. What is more important, they are being morally required to profess this to be the most profound experience of their lives. Now, since, as every woman knows, the process of delivering a baby is apt to involve behavior on her part that is far more spectacularly obstreperous to witness than it is to experience—and certainly far more memorable—her husband will very likely be far more impressed and frightened by it than she. The object of this exercise, as advertised, is to help the father to achieve a more tender, intimate, and natural, that is, more motherly, relation with his baby. And no doubt a higher degree of immediate familiarity between the father and his newborn—traditionally a somewhat anxious-making object for most men—is achieved by this new obstetrical fashion. So one hears about the experience, along with professions of its wonder and profundity, from the raft of men who have in recent years been pressed into it.

Yet there is something else one hears in the talk of such men as it goes on, something of fear and trembling, of helplessness and uselessness and, yes, revulsion, and something else again: the suggestion of the sense precisely of their insignificance to the whole process. That they will *father* their children—work hard, if need be unpleasurably, to support them, to protect them, to keep a roof over their heads and a threatening world at bay, that they will take on the far from easy obligation to instruct them in the ways of that world—all this has been set at virtually naught.

Once the baby has been brought home, its enlightened, acceding father continues his maternal participation, feeding, when possible, diapering, soothing, rocking, fetching, carrying. And its mother? In many, many cases she on the other hand will be ticking off the days of her obligation until she is permitted to resume her so-called "real" career, downtown in the office. She will be investigating the various kinds of day-care available, and negotiating with her husband the necessary arrangements for their sharing of maternal tasks in the hours that surround the working day. Fortunately, the memories of infants retain almost no specific content. Otherwise the baby who is the object of this negotiation might before long find himself in the condition of someone who, for a brief while enjoying the attentions of two mothers, has with bewildering suddenness been thrust into a life in which he no longer enjoys the attentions of even one: his father, convinced by the whole world that he has no special role to play, having felt released to take off for parts unknown; while his mother, having demonstrated her preference for the manly role of breadwinner, is now forced by necessity to play that role for keeps. Who has not seen them, in the precincts of the very poor, of course, but also of the forward-looking enlightened middle class—the army of gallant young women setting off each morning to deposit their toddlers somewhere so that they may earn the keep of the households they have been given to head?

And what of the young families who stay together? Here I make a prediction. In ten years' time among these there will arise a new women's movement. It may not call itself by that name, nor hold conventions—nor, certainly, receive government recognition or foundation grants—but of statements, manifestoes, angry declarations there will be many. And the gist of these will be: What has happened to the men? Why will they not make it possible for us simply to be women?

More than anything else that has gone wrong with us, this recent episode in the war between the sexes will one way and another make its consequence felt for a long, a very long time. A society like ours can swing from intellectual and social fashion to intellectual and social fashion with relative ease—indeed, there are fortunes to be made from it; ask the publishing and entertainment industries. But it cannot with impunity engage in an effort to overturn the natural order. And that a man is a man and a woman is a woman, and that life on earth is only made tolerable by the collaborative contributions of the uniqueness of each, is about as good a definition of a fundamental aspect of the natural order as any.

Perhaps it is our technology, which has so altered the nature and experience of work. Perhaps it is our atheism, which has invited us to believe we can make our own rules for everything. Perhaps it is merely our greed, which has made us ungrateful not only for the good things of life—such as our health, the comfort and bounty in which we are privileged to spend our days, or even just the way we take for granted that the children born to us will survive—but ungrateful for life itself.

Whatever accounts for it, we are in the grip of a great national wave of hypochondria. The hypochondriac is the most perfect representation of the will to overturn the natural order. He pursues illness in order to deny death. Anyone who has watched a hypochondriac closely knows that this is so. He is a person in the grip of a magical formula: He pre-empts non-existent disease and secures for it an endless round of pre-emptive cures in order to protect himself from the deeper animal knowledge that he is, like all things of nature, passing through an inevitable cycle of ripening, aging, decaying, and dying. He will beat death with his facsimile maladies, and will live forever, forever a sick, or potentially sick, man. Franz Kafka, who was himself a hypochondriac of no mean dimension, once remarked to his friend and biographer, Max Brod, "The trouble with us, Max, is that we treat our health as though it were a disease."

Treating our health as though it were a disease is not a bad description of The Way We Live Now. Consider: Never have people eaten better, grown larger, or lived longer in better condition than we, yet has



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there ever been a society more obsessed with the various harmful properties of what we put into our mouths? To read the daily papers of the last, say, fifteen years or so is to be kept constantly in mind of menace. Everything edible, it seems, is at one time or another scrutinized for the richness of its carcinogens or the emptiness of its calories. To watch television—particularly, for some reason, to watch television late at night—is to be bombarded with the message that every minute so and so many of our fellow Americans are dying of this or that arcane disease. The very unfamiliarity of the names of the maladies now stalking one in ten, or one in twenty, or one in two hundred might be thought to reassure us of just how hale and hardy we have become by comparison with our forebears. But no, the message is the opposite. Of course, we know why we are being warned in this way—as an appeal for our support for various worthy institutions or organizations undertaking medical research. The impression, however, is unmistakable: With enough money and enough research and enough scientific ingenuity, no one ever need die of anything.

So we are healthy but always in danger of illness—figuratively as well as literally, spiritually as well as physically. As doctors and drugs to the individual hypochondriac, so something called "society" must be made to prescribe to our collective denial of nature. Society must make it possible for the young to remain children and for the old to remain young. Society must arrange it so that relations between the sexes, especially sexual relations between the sexes, are entirely without weight or consequence. Society must invent a way for women to be mothers and men fathers, if for some reason they choose to do so, without the need for any selflessness on their part. Society must banish all inequity, all discomfort, all necessity, all tragedy, and above all, everything for which the individual has hitherto been responsible.

Some have described the condition from which we suffer as narcissism. I do not think the name of this condition is narcissism, a term which in any case is all too often confused with just plain selfishness. I think we suffer from a massive denial of human limitedness, which is, as I said, just another way of describing hypochondria.

It makes no difference that the diseases of the hypochondriac are imaginary. Hypochondria is itself a mortal disease. The young may wish for society to keep them children. They do not thrive, do not prosper, are not happy, satisfied, vital, if they are permitted to do so. The old may wish for society to keep them young, but they lose the richness of their lives, the golden rewards of all their travail and experience, when such a pretense is made possible. Men and woman may wish for society to render their entanglements of no consequence. Without weight and consequence, even unhappy consequence, to give them meaning, these entanglements are pure pain and poison. Mothers and fathers may wish for society to take over their burden of selflessness. Without precisely that burden, the knowledge that another's existence and needs mean more to one than one's own, life becomes an ever more accelerating accumulation of trivia—of evanescent junk—without sustenance and without satisfaction.

All of this is what really threatens us. Not air pollution, not carcinogens, not viruses, not too much wealth or too much poverty, not too much technology or too little spontaneous feeling. It is the rush to denounce our connection to the eternal and inevitable order of things: that we are all born, male or female, that we spend a short, sometimes tragic, often comic, time on the scene, that we generate others, look after them, and one day, hopefully without being too ugly about it, make way for them.

Those of us going through this cycle in twentieth-century democratic society, in American society, do so in physically, socially, and politically privileged surroundings. This is our blessing of health, but, as Kafka said, we seem determined to treat it as a disease. In our determination, we have succeeded. We are ill—of something it will take more than a new political climate to cure. □

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Maurice Cranston

# WHATEVER HAPPENED TO LIBERALISM?

**After a summer spent in our nation's capital reading the blowzy literature of a blowzy movement, one of England's foremost political philosophers expresses his astonishment.**

Liberalism in America is thought at the moment to be unpopular. Its actual situation is much worse, for to judge from what is being written and said by the leading liberals in the United States today, a once great system of political thought has degenerated into a sorry mess of contradictory opinion, prejudice, fantasy, passion, and trivia. How is this to be explained? Before his death in 1979, David Spitz, a distinguished American political philosopher who specialized in the theory of liberalism, wrote a number of essays which have now been posthumously published,* exploring what he called the "authentic tradition" of liberalism and trying to ascertain how that tradition had come to be, as he put it, "sidetracked."

His argument was that liberalism, in its essentials, is a doctrine about liberty, a doctrine which assigns priority to the freedom of the individual, and notably to freedom from the constraints of the state. This was the liberalism of John Locke and—in some at least of his writings—of John Stuart Mill. David Spitz believed that this was still the only genuine form of liberalism, and the credo he devised for liberals in the twentieth century began with the maxim: "Esteem liberty above all other values, even over equality and justice."

Spitz did not, however, think that liberalism could, or should, be brought unaltered from the nineteenth century into the twentieth. Earlier liberals had fashioned their political programs in contrast with, and usually in opposition to, conservatives. But liberals were no longer in the same situation. "The decisive issue for our time," Spitz wrote, "is not Mill versus

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**The Real World of Liberalism,* by David Spitz. Chicago University Press, $20.00.



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Burke, but Mill versus Marx; hence liberals and conservatives stand together, at least in the here and now, in defense of democracy against dictatorship."

One must, alas, question the wording of this important utterance. Liberals and conservatives *ought* logically to stand together against Marxism and Marxist dictatorship, and in some parts of the world they do. In America, on the other hand, this is manifestly no longer the case. American liberalism continues to define itself only in opposition to conservatism, and far from rejecting Marx, seems only to add more and more pieces of Marxism to the flimsy structure of its own ideology.

The process can, I think, be traced back to the introduction into liberalism of the "social question"—the idea of using government as a means to resolve problems in the economy and improve the living conditions of the poor and disadvantaged. Translated into practical politics, this idea necessarily entails the enlargement of the state, of that very entity which traditional liberals had located as the central adversary of freedom. The whole idea, to put it plainly, is a socialist idea; and whether desirable or undesirable, it cannot be reconciled with the original liberal principle of keeping the state's powers to a minimum.

Nevertheless it has come about that the great majority of American liberals have taken over this essentially socialist concept without admitting that they have ceased to be liberals. They have not even assimilated the idea discreetly; they have reached the stage of proclaiming it as their very own. For example, in a liberal manifesto "A First Draft for 1984" published in the *New Republic* on March 31, 1982, we read: "historically, government . . . is the instrument by which the nation's people can guide their destiny and express their principles." And later in the same manifesto, Professor Michael Walzer alleges that "the demand that government 'get off our backs' has a short history. It is the ideology of modern selfishness." It is strange that a professor who made his name as a student of seventeenth-century political thought should imagine that the demand for minimal government was first heard only recently. But Professor Walzer is certainly not lacking in sophistication. He has expressed as adroitly as any American liberal the theory of "positive freedom," according to which, however much "negative freedom" may be diminished by the intrusion of government, "positive freedom" is actually increased by state activity which enables certain groups to enlarge their options, even at the expense of reducing the options of others. One has only to add that this doctrine of "positive freedom" was advanced, far more systematically, by Marx.

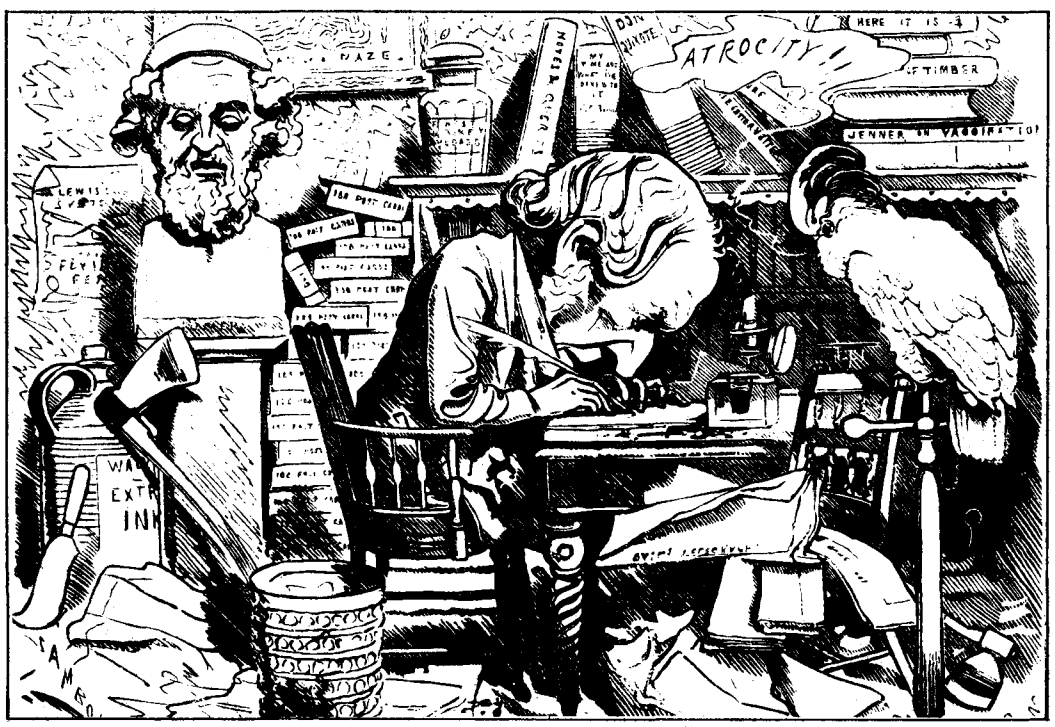
It is the lack of system, the absence of coherence, which strikes any impartial reader of the American liberal literature that is currently being published. It betrays an unwillingness to think clearly or think thoroughly, or even to think at all about certain subjects. Take the case of Indochina. Some ten years ago American liberals could speak of almost nothing but the sufferings of Cambodia under U.S. bombs. Cambodia's infinitely greater sufferings under different Communist regimes seem not to engage the American liberal's interest. It is as if America alone concerned them, or rather, as if the criticism of America were the only exercise that mattered. The old universal perspective of traditional liberalism has disappeared.

There are even liberals who now claim that Soviet militarism is an American delusion, a product of what they call America's "Cold War mentality." Here we can discern another striking characteristic of current American liberalism. Not only does it define itself by its opposition to everything conservative, it defines itself by its opposition to everything distinctively American, whether it is the America of Reagan (described by Walzer as "the chief spokesman of the ideology of selfishness") or the America of Carter (accused by Tom Hayden in *The American Future*† of "planning to begin a war while the American people were literally asleep").

This attitude is the more unfortunate in view of the world situation in which we all now live and the Soviet strategy which threatens our peace and freedom. After Stalin's death the Soviets ceased to pin any hopes on people in other countries admiring the USSR or regarding it as a model to imitate. The Soviets ceased even to attach great importance to foreign Communist parties, so that the emergence of "Eurocommunism" and other manifestations of independent thinking among Party supporters broke no hearts in Moscow. In pursuing their ends, the Soviets since Stalin have relied almost entirely on building up hostility to "Western imperialism" rather than on fostering love for themselves; for this purpose the soft-thinking American liberal is infinitely more useful than any card-carrying Communist.

Before World War II the Soviet Union produced films designed to win sympathy for Communism in the outside world—and very good films they were: *The Battleship Potemkin, Bed and Sofa, We From Kronstadt,* and others enjoyed a great success in the West. But in recent times, the Soviets have turned aside from this activity. Their propaganda purposes are better served by Western films which knock the USA: *Missing*, for example, which depicts American government officials as murderers, or *The China Syndrome*, which portrays American industrialists as gangsters. Of course, such films do not glorify Russia; but the Soviets no longer seek to glorify Russia. They even discourage the diffusion of socialist idealism, lest that should play into the hands of China, whose rival form of Marxism is cleaner and more appealing to the pure in heart.

China, however, is another subject about which today's American liberals are either silent or hostile. They do not trust a regime that has friends in Washington. Indeed we find Tom Hayden warning, in *The American Future*: "What the partnership with China can lead to . . . is the same danger as the first Cold War—a hot war, or at least an unbridgeable tension between the U.S. and the Soviet Union."




This danger of hot war, or nuclear war, with the Soviet Union is one about which there is a great deal of talk on the American Left. But is there anything approaching a concrete policy? Two recent books are devoted to the problem: *Nuclear War—What's In It For You?*‡ which

†Washington Square Press, $3.95.

‡Pocket Books, $2.95.



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seems to have been written by a team, and *Freeze: How You Can Help Prevent Nuclear War,*** by Senators Kennedy and Hatfield. Both books provide detailed projections about the destructive potential of nuclear weapons, and offer dramatic descriptions, complete with figures and charts, of the fate of various American cities in a nuclear war, however good a civil defense those cities might think they possessed. It is all very horrifying. And yet one wonders whether there was any need to spell it all out, since everyone must know that a nuclear war will bring a holocaust. What needs to be discovered is how to avoid a nuclear war. And here the voice of American liberalism is incoherent. Some liberals ask for a freeze on nuclear weapons, some ask for multilateral nuclear disarmament, some for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Senators Kennedy and Hatfield plead the case for a freeze on all nuclear weaponry and suggest that this could be accomplished by agreement with the Soviet Union. Their proposal is to effect an immediate halt to the arms race, and to forestall any increase in weaponry while protracted negotiations are undertaken for a more permanent compact on arms limitation. "To freeze first and then negotiate reductions makes sense on many levels," they write. "It recognizes the urgency of taking a step that is as simple as it is practical, and that is more feasible now than it has ever been before, because both sides are so nearly equivalent in their arsenals of annihilation."

The weakness of the Senators' argument resides in the unreliability of their claim that both arsenals are "so nearly equivalent." That is not the information we have in Europe, where Soviet superiority in nuclear installations at this moment is calculated by the best authorities to be substantial. Indeed, there is a large section of liberal opinion in America which cannot bring itself to swallow the Kennedy-Hatfield assertion. In the *New Republic*'s "First Draft for 1984," Walter Laqueur and Charles Krauthammer set out the main lines for a new liberal foreign policy. They write scornfully of what they call "the current spate" of calls for an immediate bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons. "The 'freeze,'" they say, "is a slogan, not a plan; and even if it were practical, it would cancel the zero option offer to Europe. That offer, by correcting the massive inequality that has resulted from the Soviet installation of SS-20 missiles in Europe, would help stabilize the European frontier, and thus make nuclear war in Europe far less likely. On strategic weapons, Democrats should support immediate negotiations for drastic and balanced reductions in current arsenals, a goal that would be delayed, and perhaps prevented, by interminable debates over the meaning and enforcement of any 'freeze.'"

Which of these two diametrically opposed liberal policies, the Kennedy-Hatfield or the Laqueur-Krauthammer, is likely to be supported by the majority of progressives in America? My guess is that the Kennedy-Hatfield "freeze" will make the running, just because it *is* a slogan and not a plan, and also—dare one say it?—because it is what the Soviet Union wants. The Soviets rejected Lyndon Johnson's proposal for a nuclear freeze in 1964 because America was then ahead in the arms race; if the Soviets like the idea now it is because they believe themselves to be ahead in the arms race. It is curious how, when the Soviets want a policy put into effect, all sorts of opinion groups—church groups, community groups, service groups, all led by certified nonpolitical, nonleftist personalities—spring up like mushrooms to promote it and collect signatures for petitions in its favor. ➟


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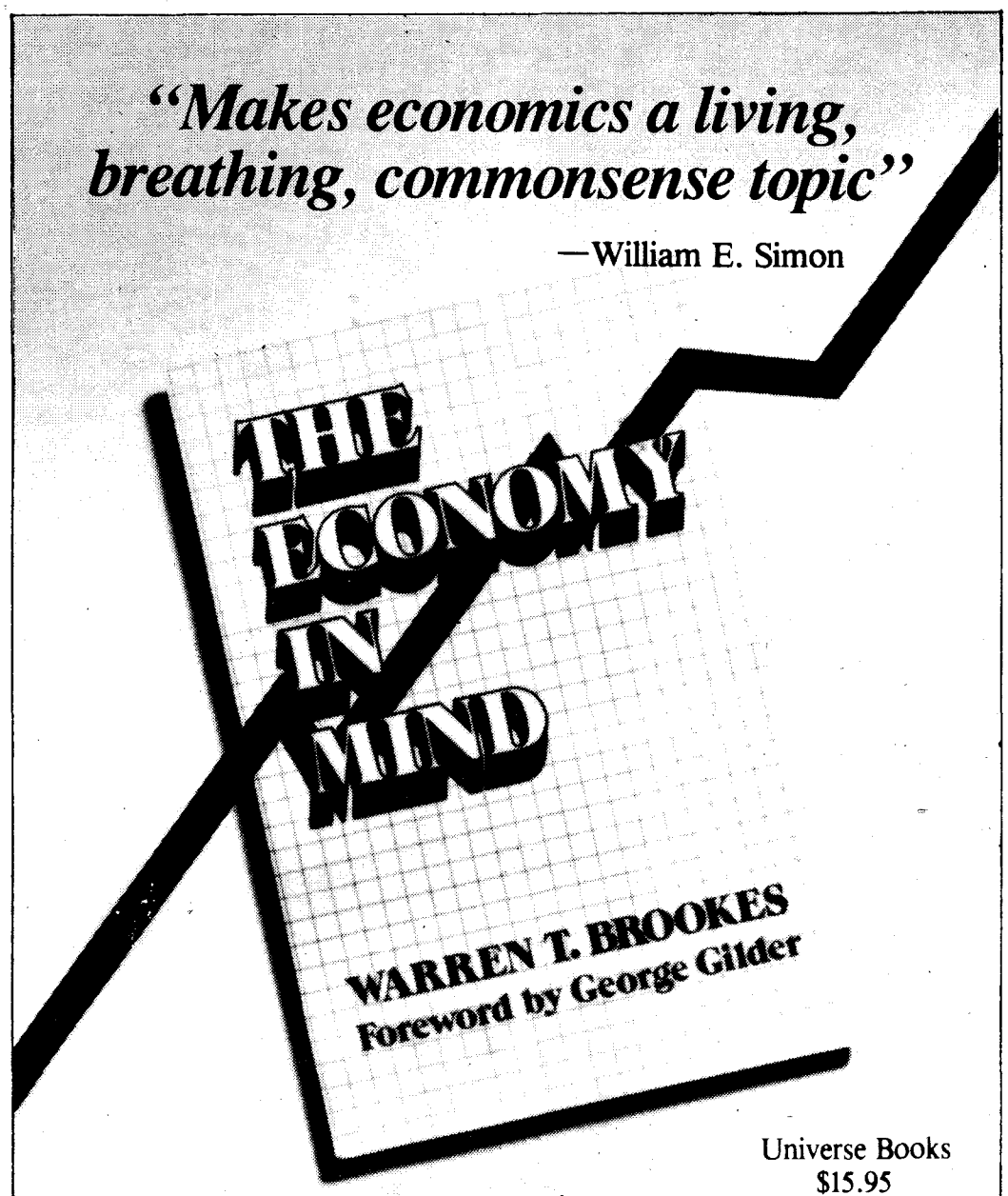


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The third liberal response to the threat of nuclear war is to ask for unilateral nuclear disarmament. This view, widespread in Europe, has a relatively small following in the United States because it is too frankly pacifist. And we all learned during the Vietnam war that pacifism in America is seldom more than a facade: People who called themselves "antiwar" at that time nearly always turned out on closer inspection to be people who wanted North Vietnam to win the war against the South. Similarly, people today who are too discreet to suggest that America should get rid of its military nuclear installations suggest instead that America should get rid of its civil nuclear installations. It is a devious way of undermining American nuclear technology.

The pursuit of this objective brings the liberal Left into a curious alliance with the ecology movement, and adds to their program a strangely dreamlike quality. Tom Hayden's book *The American Future* is a no-nukes manifesto, in which sweet thoughts derived from Rousseau and Thoreau are cynically put together with sour ones derived from Marx. Hayden speaks of the need for people to lead a more frugal life, which at least sets him apart from those liberals who go on and on about ending the frugality of people's lives by ladling out more state subventions and welfare payments. He also looks for a revival of craftsmanship and depicts a world where everyone collects his own energy in solar batteries instead of hooking up to a nuclear-generated public supply. None of this is actually impractical. The Amish sect and other religious communities have long lived successfully in America on such principles; one has only to bear in mind that such societies are intensely disciplined and puritan, and not at all "liberal" in the manner of Hayden, whose attitude is one of pure self-indulgence, combining apologies for the worst totalitarian regimes with proposals for the restoration in the West of a medieval economy.

The fact of the matter is that no one who took seriously the ideals of Thoreau and the simple life of communal frugality could possibly accept any alliance with left-wing liberalism. For evidence of this we may turn to Murray Bookchin's latest book, *The Ecology of Freedom*,†† which provides, among other things, a forceful refutation of Michael Walzer's gospel of positive freedom. Walzer, for example, in his contribution to the *New Republic*, says that in the name of freedom, "It is time to defend the welfare state—taxes, bureaucrats, rules and regulations—the whole thing." Bookchin argues, on the contrary, that freedom requires us to banish the whole thing in favor of a society held together by something other than taxes, bureaucrats, rules, and regulations. Speaking of the human predicament in present-day America he writes:

> What has largely replaced the sinews that held community and personality together is an all-encompassing, coldly depersonalized bureaucracy. The agency and the bureaucrat have become the substitute for the family, the town, the neighborhood, the personal support structure of peoples in crisis. . . . With no other structure to speak of but the bureaucratic agency, society has not merely been riddled by bureaucracy, it has all but become a bureaucracy in which everyone is reduced to a functionary. The legacy of domination thus culminates in the growing together of the state and society—and with it the dissolution of the family, community, mutual aid and social commitment.

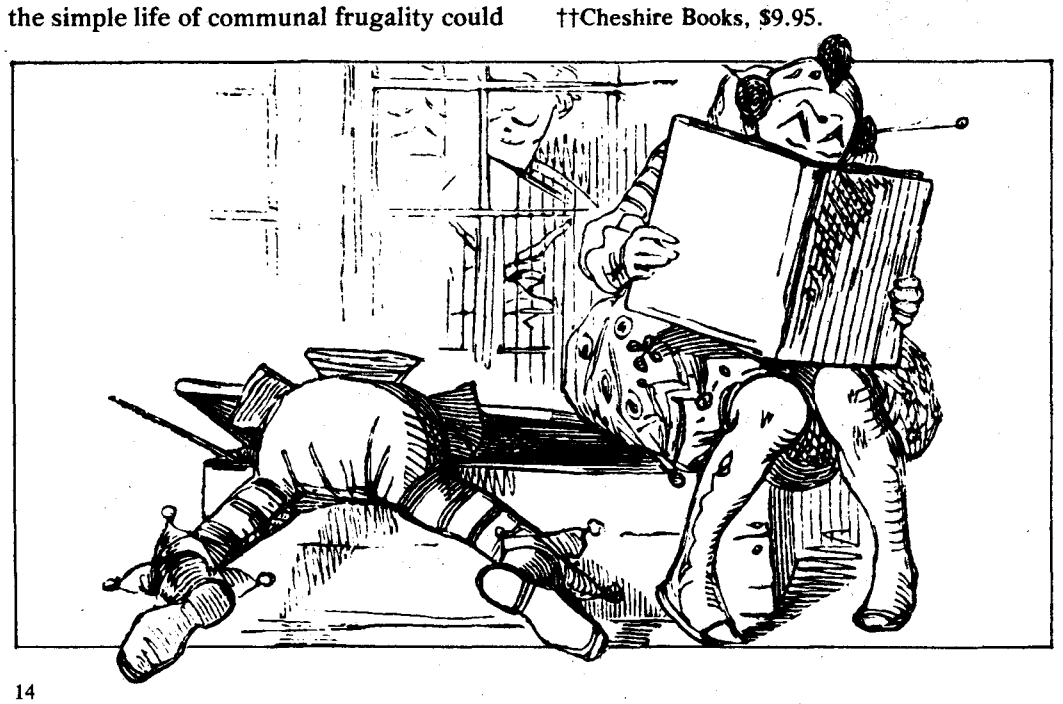
Whether one agrees with him or not, Bookchin's writing has an eloquence which recalls that of Camus; and paradoxically, although he would probably prefer to be called a philosophical anarchist, his thinking is closer to that of a nineteenth-century liberal than the thinking of most Americans who call themselves liberals today. For one thing, he is still worried about the plight of humanity in general, and not merely that of the inhabitants of the United States.

For narrowness of vision on the American liberal scene, few can match the feminists. The cause of women's freedom is, in truth, a serious one. In the Moslem world, millions of women are subjected to greater oppression and humiliation today than they were a generation ago; in Africa, thousands of female children continue to be mutilated by barbarous clitoral circumcision. But this, one discovers from reading their publications, is not what concerns the American Women's Liberation Movement. The recent tenth anniversary issue of their journal *Ms.* and an anthology of feminist writings *Sisterhood is Powerful*‡‡ are taken up with such matters as the sexual harassment of female office workers in the USA and the reluctance of American fathers to nurse and feed their children while the mother finds fulfillment in a career. The special number of *Ms.* makes singularly depressing reading for anyone who really cares about freedom. A surface of professionalism is provided by the advertisements—for gin, whiskey, cigarettes, automobiles, and a make-up "in a sexy new precision applicator" (Question: Is sexy make-up calculated to provoke sexual harassment in the office?); the actual articles are feeble and trivial. Gloria Steinem, for example, can proclaim as triumphs of Women's Lib over the past ten years that "Ms." is now an optional form of address for business and the U.S. government and that there are now more than 30,000 women's studies courses in U.S. colleges. Other contributors gloat over the number of bridal-gown shows and Miss World pageants that have been disrupted. It is all grimly humorless. It could well be amusing, for example, to see a unit for the history of female homosexuality calling itself "Lesbian *Herstory* Archives" were it not for the deadly earnest hatred of the male which that silly linguistic innovation bespeaks.

*Sisterhood is Powerful* affords no relief from the gloom, but it does contain some better writing, and well it might, since literature is a trade where women have long proved themselves the equals of men. But it seems that the editor of this anthology has looked not so much for the voices of women as the voices of unhappy women. Sylvia Plath, whose poems are perhaps the best, committed suicide at the age of thirty. Ellen Strong, who contributes a brilliant essay, is a reformed junkie-prostitute. Of herself Ellen Strong says, looking back on a life that began as a "red-diaper baby" given a vigorously radical upbringing: "Perhaps I am lucky. I had my radical training before becoming a hustler, so that even while involved in the drug, hustling and homosexual life, I still was able to understand some of the dynamics of it." The reasoning here is revealing: The author does not conjecture that a radical upbringing might have propelled her toward a life of drugs, prostitution, and lesbianism, only that it enabled her to understand it while she lived it. Self-knowledge is the one virtue still rec-

††Cheshire Books, $9.95.

‡‡Edited by Robin Morgan. Vintage Books, $5.95.





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ognized. The irony is that self-knowledge is the virtue that American feminists seem in general most signally to lack. Their self-absorption is something altogether different—not a virtue, but a charmless and ruinous defect.

The feminists of the past were wonderful women—working for political ends, such as the right to vote and own property, by political means. The great mistake of the present-day feminists is that of present-day American liberals in general, of seeking to use political means to solve problems that are either social or private. Joseph A. Califano, Jr., in his book *Governing America,**** which is mainly about his thirty months' experience as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in the Carter Administration, remarks that HEW was "often charged by law to solve human problems that other institutions—the family, the schools, the economy, local governments—had failed to solve or even to address." Califano ought not really to have been surprised. HEW was brought into being to take the place of those other institutions.

I suppose it would be generally agreed that it was the development of HEW which gave the USA the dubious honor of considering itself a "welfare state." It is probably not so well realized how much the powers and functions of the state in America were at the same time enlarged and extended. Califano recalls that HEW in 1980, after he had been in charge of it, "accounted for more than 36 per cent of the total federal budget." This amount was more than $200 billion, a greater sum than the whole national budget of any other country in the world, save the USSR. A detailed comparison of the budget of Carter's Administration with that of the Mitterrand government in France—that is, of a socialist government which includes Communist ministers—would, I believe, startle some Americans by showing how far the United States had by 1980 moved to the Left. For example, whereas Mitterrand allocated 4 percent of his budget to health, Carter allocated 30 percent; Mitterrand allocated 1 percent to presidential administration, Carter 9 percent; and both governments allocated more or less the same proportions of their budgets to labor, veterans, science, agriculture, housing, and urban development. Americans still pay a greater proportion of their earnings in taxes than Frenchmen do. U.S. expenditure on health consumed 4.5 percent of the GNP in 1950 (about $12.7 billion); by 1970 it had risen to 7.2 percent of the GNP, and by 1980 it had risen to 9.5 percent or some $1,067 a person. With all this money being drawn from the taxpayers' pockets, liberals have still to admit that the welfare state does not work.

Mark Green, for example, protests in his *Winning Back America,*††† "Despite Medicare and Medicaid, there are 34 million Americans who lack full-time year-round medical coverage . . . and some 70 million who are medically indigent—unable to afford adequate coverage yet not poor enough for Medicaid." Mr. Green seems to think that the answer lies in a more "comprehensive" national health scheme, but if that means more state control and intervention, the experience of Great Britain must refute his expectations. The British National Health Service, however admirable in its origins when the traditional independence of the professions was preserved, began to deteriorate rapidly as soon as the system became bureaucratized and when uncontrolled immigration put excessive pressure on its resources.

People would do well to reflect on Professor Bookchin's observation—coming as it does from a source that no one could describe as "Reaganite"—that bureaucracy has eaten into the soul of American society. If Alexis de Tocqueville were to return to the United States today and could write a sequel to his *Democracy in America*, what title would he need to give it? I suspect it would have to be *Democracy, Bureaucracy, and the Judiciary in America* since democracy has to compete all the time against those two alarmingly powerful organs of government.

Mr. Califano calls his book *Governing America*. Perhaps a foreigner like myself may be allowed to ask, what was Mr. Califano doing governing America, spending 36 percent of its federal budget? Nobody elected him. The only connection he could claim to have with democracy is that a democratically elected President appointed him and a democratically elected Senate approved of the nomination. But it is very clear from his book—an honest and sympathetic record of a liberal intellectual's life in office—that Mr. Califano did not think of himself as the servant of the President or of Congress. He saw himself as a minister of the government with a duty to serve the public interest as he best understood it.

From what Mr. Califano tells us, it seems that it was Carter who was made to feel bad when he disagreed with any members of his cabinet. Here is one of Mr. Califano's anecdotes:

"UN Ambassador Andrew Young began to speak . . . the President's face reddened. He interrupted Young: 'You have repeatedly embarrassed the administration. I was told this again and again at Camp David . . . You have caused embarrassment to me by calling Britain the most racist country in history . . . saying Cuban troops in Angola were a stabilizing influence . . . saying there are hundreds of political prisoners in the United States.'"

Califano adds that Carter was so angry that he "had killed any other meaningful comment." He does not tell us that Carter had the strength of will to fire Andrew Young; indeed we know that Carter took a very long time to undo that preposterous appointment. But at least the system allowed the President eventually to rid himself of Andrew Young—and indeed also of Mr. Califano, for at the very top the bureaucrat has no tenure. →

***Reviewed by Leslie Lenkowsky, *The American Spectator,* October 1981.

†††Bantam Books, $3.95.


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The trouble with the American judiciary is that its members cannot be removed so easily. And the judiciary since World War II has taken an increasingly large share of what Mr. Califano calls "governing America." How, for example, did American democracy settle the questions of egalitarian schooling, of abortion, of prison reform, of pornography? The answer is that American democracy did not decide; the American courts decided. Even if some judges are elected by popular suffrage, the judiciary cannot be a democracy. The allegiance of the judiciary is not to the people's will but to the law, and the law is what the judiciary says it is.

When all is said and done, democra offers America's only prospect of escape from the twin clutches of the bureaucracy and the judiciary, whose powers have been so greatly increased by the enactment of liberal legislation and the diffusion of the liberal ideology. So long as democracy has a voice there is hope for freedom. Senator Paul Tsongas's book‡‡‡ is instructive in this respect, since it shows how he has had to change his tune in order to succeed in practical politics. A student radical of the 1960s at Dartmouth College, Tsongas rose swiftly in the Democratic party; a member of the House of Representatives in 1974, he stood in Massachusetts for the Senate in 1978, and while all the time asking for more blacks in politics, opposed the only black Senator, the impeccably progressive Senator Brooke, and defeated him. Obviously, Tsongas could not have moved so far so fast if he had stuck to the abstract dogmas of liberal theory.

In the old days, he admits, he encouraged his public to go on buying their German and Japanese cars "to save gas"; now he has learned the importance of helping American industry, if only to relieve unemployment. Once he voiced the liberal demand for all-out support for the public sector of the economy; now he urges that the government should "encourage the private sector." Once Tsongas was all against nuclear energy; now he argues that "there is no other alternative to nuclear power in the middle term." Once he championed workers' trade union rights above all else in industry; now he gives priority to productivity. He has moved from the antiwar rhetoric to calling for a vigorous response to Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. There can be no doubt that he has changed his policy on all these matters because his political career has forced him to listen to ordinary people and seek their votes. Unfortunately, when it is safe for him to press a hard-left line, Tsongas still does so, and it is doubtful whether the leopard really has changed his spots. On the crucial question of foreign policy, Tsongas goes on advocating support for some of the worst Marxist-Leninist despots in the Third World, even in Ethiopia, where he has seen with his own eyes what is going on. He is a fierce exponent of the Marcuse doctrine of intolerance toward conservatives, and was a star performer in the Senate witch-hunt of Ernest Lefever.

The left-liberal ideology has less and less popular support in America, and to that extent democracy has halted its advance, at least in its overt and unequivocal form. But it is still fashionable in many quarters. It cannot be written off as out of date. It is deeply entrenched not only in the bureaucracy and the judiciary, but in the universities and the media, and in many of those places it has become a vested interest, as jobs, prestige, and advancement depend on adherence to it. So there is no ground for optimism. The left-liberal ideology will not die because it is incoherent and intellectually impoverished; the objectives are still fixed and the passions behind them are still violent. □

‡‡‡*The Road from Here: Liberalism and Realities in the 1980's.* By Paul Tsongas. Vintage Books, $5.95.

Robert Lekachman

# RIPOSTE FROM THE LEFT

**An eloquent critic of Reaganomics and conservatism proffers his dissent.**

If I were a Marxist—and just to avoid misunderstanding I boldly confess that I find Marxism a frequently useful tool of analysis—I should be inclined to interpret recent American experience as a vintage illustration of two important Marxist concepts: the relationship between base and superstructure and the notion of false class consciousness. Just for the fun of it, I shall yield to temptation and, for a space, pursue the line of analysis just identified.

In his introduction to the 1888 English edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, Engels attributed to Marx what he described as that great polemic's "fundamental proposition":

> That in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind . . . has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolutions in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without at the same time, and once for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles.

There's the stuff for the troops! The point of this and similar passages is the powerful claim that at the root of alterations in intellectual fashion, artistic forms, political institutions, and assorted developments in religion, music, literature, and popular culture is a set of rumblings in technology and the forms of property ownership congruent with it that constitute the "material base." In short, it is technology and the law of property which distinguish slavery in ancient Rome and

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Greece from feudalism in the Middle Ages, and the latter from the commercial, industrial, and finance capitalism which removed feudalism from the stage of history.

In evaluating events of the recent past, let's start with political and public culture, elements of superstructure. Undeniably, the contrast is sharp between the mid-1960s and the opening years of the 1980s. In the earlier period, the political agenda was congested by Great Society trumpet calls in behalf of neglected constituencies, among them the poor, the handicapped, the black, the young, and even the homosexual and radical. Very briefly, it seemed possible to finance an expanding war in Vietnam and a new set of social programs without inflation. Even more astoundingly the Johnson cornucopia included sweets for winners as well as losers. Congress as a companion piece to the War on Poverty enacted in February 1964 substantial reductions in personal and corporate income taxes. Indeed on close inspection the lion and the lioness's share of social expenditure flowed to the middle class. Even today social security and Medicare owe their relative invulnerability from David Stockman's budget bleeders not to the nonvoting poor but to politically alert, middle-class Gray Panthers and members of the American Association of Retired Persons.

Although in the giddiest moments of the 1960s the rhetoric of liberation vastly inflated the reality of political action, it is true that for several years advocates of Women's Liberation, gay power, black reparations, affirmative action, and many other good causes dominated the sensation-hungry media. Forgotten firebrands like Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown declaimed fiercely against the honkies on the seven o'clock news. At the end of the 1960s, Charles Reich in *The Greening of America* celebrated in Consciousness III the liberating role of the laid-back young. Tom Wolfe's malicious assault upon radical chic skewered wealthy radicals who took up Black Panthers and others of their ilk as fashionable causes.

Again, I must clarify my own position. Insofar (and it was not terribly far) as the Great Society confronted racial inequality, the exclusion of minorities and the poor from the political process, and dangerous concentrations of wealth and income, I clapped vigorously with both hands. In retrospect, despite major flaws of conception and application, the Great Society impresses me as the most serious stab at progressive reform since the New Deal. Vietnam tragically swallowed up the money required to ensure success for social invention and diverted public attention from domestic concerns to gaudy events in Southeast Asia.

All the same, the Great Society suffered from a serious weakness even in its short heyday. Few of its enthusiasts were card carrying blue-, white-, or pink-collared proletarians. As the 1972 McGovern candidacy made brutally clear, blue-collar types on the whole supported the Vietnam war and proved themselves able, without straining, to suppress enthusiasm for school busing, affirmative action, gay rights, and the more extravagant versions of women's liberation. The pre-Watergate Nixon preceded Reagan in capitalizing on these attitudes in both his narrow victory over Hubert Humphrey in 1968 and his slaughter of McGovern four years later.

As Kevin Phillips has pointed out in his perceptive *Post-Conservative America*, Watergate temporarily interrupted an ideological swing to the Right manifest as early as 1968. That ideologically ambiguous politician Jimmy Carter edged out Jerry Ford as the beneficiary of Watergate and Ford's own blunders. Temporizing between his own moderate impulses and the claims of McGovern constituencies, Jimmy was done in partly by his indecisiveness and, for the rest, by bad luck: another energy crisis in 1979 and the long-running Iranian hostage soap opera. Reagan's 1980 campaign strategy, which featured masterly orchestration of renewed growth, more jobs, and opposition to abortion, secular humanism, and "soft" treatment of welfare cheats, pot smokers, cocaine sniffers, and other bad actors, registered and praised public disapproval of Consciousness III.

As with politics, so with the academy and fashionable journalism. The very same Norman Podhoretz who in the 1960s featured in *Commentary* Paul Goodman, Edgar Friedenberg, Norman Brown, James Baldwin, and Norman Mailer turned his magazine a decade later into an influential neoconservative organ and himself into a recruiting agent for the Reagan Administration which from time to time he advises. Ex-radicals and ex-liberals like Irving Kristol and Nathan Glazer edit journals such as the influential *Public Interest, Public Opinion* (Ben Wattenberg and Seymour Martin Lipset), and the *New Criterion* (Hilton Kramer). The *New York Review of Books*, an excellent barometer of intellectual fashion, has drifted toward the liberal middle and opened its pages to enlightened conservatives like Kevin Phillips and corporate liberals like Felix Rohatyn. On the op-ed page of Nixon's scourge the *Washington Post* regularly appear Jack Kilpatrick, William Buckley, Evans and Novak, and George Will (not to mention *The American Spectator*'s own R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.). Magazines like this one attract readers, myself among them, and flourish in the land.

If anything the rightward drift of opinion is even more noticeable on the campuses. Of course even in the 1960s most academics were respectable Democrats or Republicans. Still, a sufficient number of well-known scribblers based in the Ivy League did make loud enough radical sounds in important editorial contexts to lend credence to the rumor that Ivy League social scientists resembled Charles Reich more nearly than Nathan Pusey.

Things have changed. Although Marxists do survive in numbers sufficient to alarm Arnold Beichman and the Heritage Foundation, few gain tenure and most young scholars worry more about their employment prospects than the intricacies of revolutionary doctrine. In my own depressing specialty, economics, a sign of the times is the declining popularity of political economy (usually taught by radicals) and the spread of Chicago, free-market ideology from the mother campus.

So much for superstructure. What about the material base? Americans are accustomed to regarding themselves as exceptional, richer and luckier than lesser breeds. As long ago as 1906, the German economic historian Werner Sombart asked the crucial question in a book title *Why Is There No Socialism in America?* His answer sounds familiar. America the blessed lacked a feudal tradition and enjoyed a degree of social equality between workers and capitalists unknown to Europeans. In our land of opportunity, plentiful helpings of roast beef and apple pie diverted the sturdy working man from defining himself as a proletarian. The seeds of European ideologies fell on unfertile soil in America.

Urban streets never were paved with gold, but until recently much of the American experience justified optimism. In the generation which progressed from youth to middle age after World War II, living standards steadily improved and with them the percentage of families able to acquire homes, cars, color TV's, boats,



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and annual vacations. Parents whose formal education stopped at high school or earlier routinely sent sons and daughters to college. In the nurturing atmosphere of economic growth without end, practically everybody can reasonably expect almost annual additions to real income. Rising tides notoriously lift all boats.

By the end of the sixties, the precarious coalition of workers, minorities, and the middle class began to dissolve for the sufficient reason that economic growth, the source of material improvement, slowed, sputtered, and in the last decade practically stopped. For the political Right, the villains were easy to identify. Here, for example, is how the Stanford and Hoover Institution economist Michael Boskin phrased his diagnosis:

> The United States economy has veered off course, and much of this malfunction can be traced to man-made disincentives to produce income and wealth and to allocate resources efficiently.

Boskin's course of treatment presaged the remedies actually pursued at least in the first eighteen months of the Reagan era:

> There is also a clear consensus that our major economic goal for the 1980s must be to restore healthy noninflationary economic growth and that this can only be accomplished in an environment with a more stable, predictable, and slower rate of monetary expansion, a slower rate of growth in government spending, and a concerted effort to remove disincentives that obstruct working, saving, investing, and innovating.

Oddly enough, Marxists and their sturdiest free-market opponents concur on a crucial point. In any capitalist community, business enterprise is the central actor. When corporate profits shrink, investment diminishes, fewer new jobs are created, and debility in the business sector quickly infects the remainder of the economy. For Marxists, persistently declining profit rates signalize the imminence of general crisis. For friends of capitalism, Charles Wilson had it right when he remarked that what was good for General Motors was good for America. In slightly grander language, at least since Adam Smith partisans of competitive capitalism have asserted harmony between the pursuit of private interest and the advancement of public interest.

For partisans of Reaganomics, there is logic to policies which enlarge the corporate share of national income at the apparent expense of low and moderate income families. The point of the exercise, as some mean-spirited critics have charged, is not to enrich Ronald Reagan's California friends nor to make Bohemian Grove rites more exuberant than ever; it is to help the poor by encouraging the rich to save and invest, for as Mandeville two centuries ago argued in the *Fable of the Bees* even the luxuries of the rich give employment and income to their financial inferiors.

In representative democracies, politicians win elections by persuading sufficient numbers of their constituents that candidates cherish the interests of the voters only slightly less than their own. Why else did 43 percent of union members desert Jimmy and embrace Ron? They were betting on a return of good times and all the more willing to give a Republican a whirl because no plausible party of the Left was in the running. European socialists, social democrats, laborites, and Communists represent potent constituencies of mostly but far from exclusively working-class citizens. From time to time, separately or in coalition, one or other of these parties of left forms a government, most recently in France. In the United States, the glaring absence of such political groupings testifies to massive false class consciousness, readiness to accept business claims that corporate and general interests coincide. Respectable political opinion ranges from Teddy Kennedy to Howard Baker. Ronald Reagan constitutes an interesting and potentially explosive departure from the tendency of Presidents and congressmen to hunt feverishly for the center of the political spectrum. Of this, more shortly.

In the clash of interest groups, business dominates because it is perceived as the major provider of jobs and wages, but also because it is best able to disburse the currency of electoral triumph—coin. Increasingly sophisticated corporate Political Action Committees have learned to target lavish funds to retire incumbent liberals and replace them with sound conservatives. In the TV era, shortage of funds usually is followed by shortage of office. In New York, Lew Lehrman, a successful entrepreneur known only to family and friends a year ago, has spent millions of dollars of his own money to capture the Republican gubernatorial nomination. His frequent commercials have turned him practically into a member of our family.

Unions lack plausible alternatives to existing social and economic arrangements. They are also uneasily aware that one important aspect of American exceptionalism has been rendered obsolete by the joint operations of American multinationals and successful foreign invaders of the American market for consumer and producer goods. Within living memory, this country could operate with only occasional attention to the impact of its policies upon the remainder of the globe and little heed to adverse repercussions from their impact. As recently as August 1971, Richard Nixon could sever the link between the dollar and gold, impose a unilateral 10-percent import surcharge, and clamp wage and price controls upon enterprises and unions secure in the knowledge that he could safely discount European and Japanese retaliation. In the last decade the United States has become a full member of the world economy. It follows that unions which push too hard for better pay and benefits or in hard times resist givebacks risk plant closures and movement of capital to Taiwan, the Philippines, Singapore, or other hospitable political climates where authoritarian regimes understand the simple needs of American multinationals and keep local unions under tight control.

For American workers, it is a no-win situation. Even if domestic employers keep open their American plants, the voracious Japanese threaten to gobble up larger pieces of such key markets as autos, steel, consumer electronics, semi-conductors, and, on the horizon, passenger planes. Unions that give back benefits and cost of living adjustments will be rewarded by corporate use of their labor savings to purchase robots, steel-collared substitutes for men and women, who never take coffee breaks, never disappear during the hunting season, and never, never file grievances. Capital is far more mobile than labor. Thus far, unions possess no political instruments capable of multinational action against multinational employers.



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Frustrated wage slaves tend, as the shrinks might say, to displace fruitless anger against their employers upon alleged welfare and food stamp cheaters, profligate politicians, and big government. Although the business community itself is divided on many specific issues, its members almost invariably unite in support of preferred candidates and broad economic policies. Misplaced class consciousness afflicts corporate elites as well as workers. At least since the New Deal when Franklin Roosevelt rescued private enterprise,* business has usually profited more from Democratic than Republican regimes.

In this exceedingly conservative country, it is more politically popular to blame victims than villains—welfare clients and laid-off workers rather than the heads of mismanaged corporations and the compliant politicians who serve their interests. Recent public policy focuses tax rewards upon the mismanagers of the private sector and benefit reductions and unemployment upon the casualties of their blunders.

## II

A trifle earlier in this amiable essay, I implied that Ronald Reagan was something other than a conventional politician. Indeed he is not conventional, for unlike Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, and Jerry Ford, Ronald Reagan does not content himself with a bit of social program trimming and a few favors to business interests. Our paladin matches the Oxford English Dictionary definition of a reactionary as an individual who favors "a movement toward the reversal of an existing tendency or state of things . . . a return, or desire to return, to a previous condition." Throughout his political career, Reagan has made no secret of his dislike of social security, opposition to progressive taxation, aspiration to load welfare and Medicaid upon states and cities, and unswerving admiration of the private sector as problem solver for all seasons. To return to the Coolidge era is, one need hardly note, to repeal both the New Deal and the Great Society.

As our first reactionary President, Ronald Reagan plays politics closer to European than American rules. Leading a party of wealth and property, he identifies its interests with the public good. His Republican predecessors behaved quite differently. With varying adroitness, they practiced coalition politics and took care to maintain their ties with organized labor, farmers, consumers, and even environmentalists. None other than Richard Nixon signed into law the Clean Air Act. It was Jerry Ford who in late 1975 came belatedly to the rescue of New York City.† However much pre-Reagan Republican Presidents sympathized with businessmen, they respected the claims of other groups.

Nature and Ralph Waldo Emerson's law of compensation strongly implies that militant ideologies of the political Right invite echoes on the Left. As Reaganomics continues to devastate the hopes and dreams of family farmers, small businessmen, property developers, and their humbler fellow citizens, it may begin to occur to timid Democrats that scant mileage remains in the conferring of additional gratuities upon corporate leaders whose major recent achievements seem to be inventive mergers and personal acquisition of golden parachutes‡ which shield them from the rude impact of their own mis-, non-, and malfeasance.

I hazard the speculation that as liberals and mild radicals recover their confidence, they will begin to consider seriously such alternatives to conventional enterprise as worker ownership, community sponsorship of housing and public utilities, and outright public management. Such heresies are platitudes among our democratic allies. We devote 10 percent or so of GNP to health care. Canadians devote a smaller percentage to state health services without demonstrably inferior statistics of longevity, infant mortality, and other measures of public health. In Britain public housing shelters a larger percentage of families than here in good part because council houses are open to middle-class as well as working-class applicants.

Did I hear someone in the back of the room mutter the word "socialism"? Fair comment. It is the appropriate response to the disappointments of recent years. For those disappointments, corporate America is responsible. No advanced industrial state treats its businessmen as favorably as we do. If they don't do their job, blame properly should be deposited at their corporate doors. Current political responses are inappropriate. Democrats have vied with Republicans to invent new incentives to business investment. They appear to have encouraged instead speculation and unproductive mergers. Politicians who continue efforts to awaken dormant business energies remind one of that famous, anonymous definition of a fanatic as "one who redoubles his efforts after having forgotten his aims."

To reiterate, a serious response to current economic crisis is in American terms radical. It challenges the primacy of business as provider, inspects with skepticism asserted coincidences of corporate and public interest, and explores without trepidation alternative modes of economic organization and production. To set a date for the next political convulsion is rash, but just as foolish is the assumption that convulsion will never occur. The politics of the rest of the 1980s and the early 1990s are likely to differ substantially from those of the preceding decade and a half. Ronald Reagan has led the way to sharper choices and a politics which will come to resemble western European models.

We are at a watershed in American history. Downward mobility has never been novel but for the first time large numbers of middle-class families confront the probability that their progeny will live less well than their parents. Already the newly married or otherwise affiliated drive smaller cars, live in less space, and encounter tougher professional competition. Ours has never been a classless society. It has been more accurately characterized by mass aspiration to rise from the working to the middle class. This aspiration has weakened group solidarity, turned American unions into mild business organizations, and encouraged general admiration of the wealthy. With luck, we may join them someday.

Radicals will owe a debt of gratitude to Ronald Reagan if his Administration's blatant pursuit of class interest persuades average Americans that their future prosperity depends on their own class action. Thus I am inclined to conclude (did that voice in the rear say thankfully, "None too soon"?) that the single most important change of opinion in the last fifteen years has been the spreading, reluctant recognition that American problems resemble the difficulties of other nationalities. The next fifteen should lead to recognition that solutions also require attention to European social democracy, worker self-management, and outright socialism. □

*The rescue operation did not stop the business community from furious opposition to the policies of their savior, any more than the American Medical Association was able initially to comprehend that Medicare would do more for the incomes of members than any innovation since anesthesia.

†Ah, the irony of it all! Ford just might have won New York and renewed his White House lease save for that famous *Daily News* headline, the work of an anonymous mover and shaker of history, "Ford to City: Drop Dead."

‡A semantic improvement over the British "golden handshake," the retirement emoluments showed upon departing executives by their colleagues. By contrast, golden parachutes translate into lavish severance payments to top managers displaced by reorganization or merger.

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Josiah Lee Auspitz

# THE TRUE LIBERAL

**A political thinker reminds us of liberalism before the donkey ears were placed upon it.**

Though many American exports have fallen on hard times, the United States unquestionably leads the world in purveying the term "liberalism" in an entirely debased and sectarian way that gives no clue to its historic meaning. Elsewhere, the word still has some intellectual force. It stands for admired practices of civility, constitutional liberty, and representative government, as in the phrase "liberal democracy." It evokes, too, a rich and disciplined culture, as in the phrase "liberal education." There are even countries, not all of them Western, in which political parties are proud to bear the name liberal and to aspire to the ideals associated with it, as in the ruling party of Japan. It is liberalism in its most fundamental sense that is the continuing issue in Poland, where freedom of association and procedural guarantees are still being sought. Liberalism, in its rudimentary form, is the aim of the human rights movements in Argentina and the Philippines, and indeed the very vocabulary of human rights, wherever it arises, is indelibly and recognizably liberal.

All over the world, the United States is looked to as the bearer *par excellence* of an ideal that combines three dictionary senses of the word liberal: generosity, freedom, toleration. The liberal idea has endured long enough to have acquired a settled conceptual character that can be disentangled from the many other notions with which "liberalism" has been confused (notions such as capitalism, Protestantism, rationalism, individualism, anti-Romanism, optimism, interest-group pluralism, laissez-faire, and the bourgeoisie). And the American variant of this liberal idea can be discussed philosophically in terms which show its important place in the civilized heritage of all mankind.

But you would never guess any of this from listening to our contemporary political debates. Here in the United States, liberalism is simply the catchword for one of the two teams on which you can place side bets in two-party politics. In addition to the Republicans versus the Democrats we have in each party "liberals" versus "conservatives," though the liberals among the Republicans and the conservatives among the Democrats call themselves "moderates," both to disarm fanatics and to appeal to that great bulk of Americans who, with Dwight Eisenhower, can't figure out what the terms mean. "I have never found anyone who could convincingly explain his own definition of these political classifications," Ike said from retirement on his Gettysburg farm, doubtless aware that his chief speechwriter, Emmett John Hughes, had devoted a book to exposing the philosophical inadequacies of "liberalism" (by which Hughes meant the individualism and laissez-faire of the "conservative" wing of the GOP).

But then Hughes, a former columnist at *Newsweek*, had worked in Manhattan, which is one place where people take these labels in dead earnest. New York happens to be the only state where peculiarities of the electoral law have permitted the rise of endorsement slates bearing the names Liberal Party and Conservative Party, so that there the terms actually have concrete referents. What a tribute to the role of the Empire State as the financial and communications capital of the country that these labels, which New Yorkers can use with so much more confidence than the rest of us, have come to dominate our national political debate.

Only New Yorkers, many of whom live in Connecticut or summer in New England, can make truly refined discriminations about Liberal-Republicans, Conservative-Democrats, neoconservatives, neoliberals, radical-liberals, libertarian conservatives, and other exotic varieties. How significant are these distinctions? As Al Smith, a great governor of that state, put it, "No matter how thin you slice it, it's still baloney." When new ideological fashions churn out of Manhattan as quickly as tailfins used to change in Detroit, no one should be surprised if our politics like our transportation is taken over by foreign imports.

Come to think of it, in their debased meanings, the terms liberal and conservative are themselves foreign imports. They are borrowed from British politics of the Victorian Age. They have, to give them their due, added a touch of class to our native political journalism. The young Walter Lippmann, for example, was able to transform himself from a Harvard socialist, which was ungentlemanly, to a "liberal," which was high-toned, without any initial wrenching of his views on government. Later, other Americans, inspired perhaps by the set paper on Gladstone and Disraeli administered at Oxford to so many visiting colonials, were transmogrified from Babbitts into squires with the label "conservative," which conjured up stained glass, the family silver, and riding to hounds. →

*Josiah Lee Auspitz directs the Project in Public Philosophy for the Sabre Foundation.*



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It was not, however, until quite recently that the terms were used as political antinomies. All through the 1920s and 1930s Americanism and liberalism were generally seen as one. In a famous 1928 speech Herbert Hoover declared: "For one hundred and fifty years liberalism has found its true spirit in the American system." In the 1932 election campaign, both Roosevelt and Hoover claimed to be the true representative of the liberal tradition, though one of them, Roosevelt, saw this as more fulfilled in inspiring rhetoric, states' rights, and a balanced budget; while the other, Hoover, stressed government regulation and national recovery programs. During the 1930s as Roosevelt adopted and greatly extended Hoover's program, without any notable economic success, his detractors accused him of having betrayed liberalism for collectivism. In the late 1930s one of Harvard's prestigious Godkin lecturers devoted his talks to a defense of "the liberal tradition" against the New Deal. Roosevelt, meanwhile, was still claiming to have rescued liberalism from the extremes of the "radicals" and the "reactionaries."

Though the word conservative had appeared intermittently in American political rhetoric for more than a century, it was not until the mid-fifties that a small group of intellectuals consciously set about to place "conservatism" at antipodes to liberalism and not until 1966 that the most venturesome among them published the first college reader on *Liberalism versus Conservatism*. Even then, the editors, Willmoore Kendall and George Carey, frankly acknowledged that the scarcity of American conservative writing was such that they had to draw more heavily than they would have liked on two intrepid authors, James Burnham and Kendall himself. Each of these intellectually courageous men posed the distinction in terms that made the vast majority of their fellow citizens hopelessly and irremediably liberal.

For Kendall, a belief in equality was the touchstone of liberalism and Abraham Lincoln was its prime exemplar. For him conservatives had to follow Calhoun in rejecting the rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence and seeing the Constitution not as an attempt to carry through on the promise of equal rights of the Declaration but to repudiate it. As for Burnham, his working definition of liberalism was contained in 39 Articles of Assent. "Without worrying over fine points," he asked people to agree or disagree with 39 sentences —a number taken, somewhat humorously, from Anglican doctrine. Liberals, he said, would agree most of the time, conservatives would disagree in like proportion. Very few people would fall in the middle. Here are the first seven of Burnham's articles (five or more assents to them makes you a liberal, two or fewer a conservative; no American, according to Burnham, falls in the middle):

1. All forms of racial segregation and discrimination are wrong.
2. Everyone is entitled to his own opinion.
3. Everyone has a right to free, public education.
4. Political, economic or social discrimination based on religious belief is wrong.
5. In political or military conflict it is wrong to use methods of torture and physical terror.
6. A popular movement or revolt against a tyranny or dictatorship is right, and deserves approval.
7. The government has a duty to provide for the ill, aged, unemployed and poor if they cannot take care of themselves.

By this test Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater would today fall on the liberal side, as would any official pledged to uphold the Constitution of the United States. It seems fair to conclude that the improvement of the

# The Dispersion Analysis

*Exhaust dispersion near a roadway is influenced by the turbulence and heat generated by moving vehicles. Findings at the General Motors Research Laboratories have provided a new understanding of the dispersion process.*

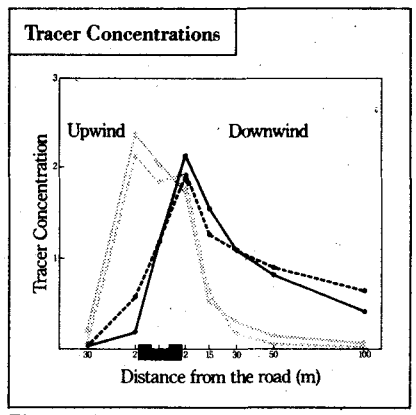
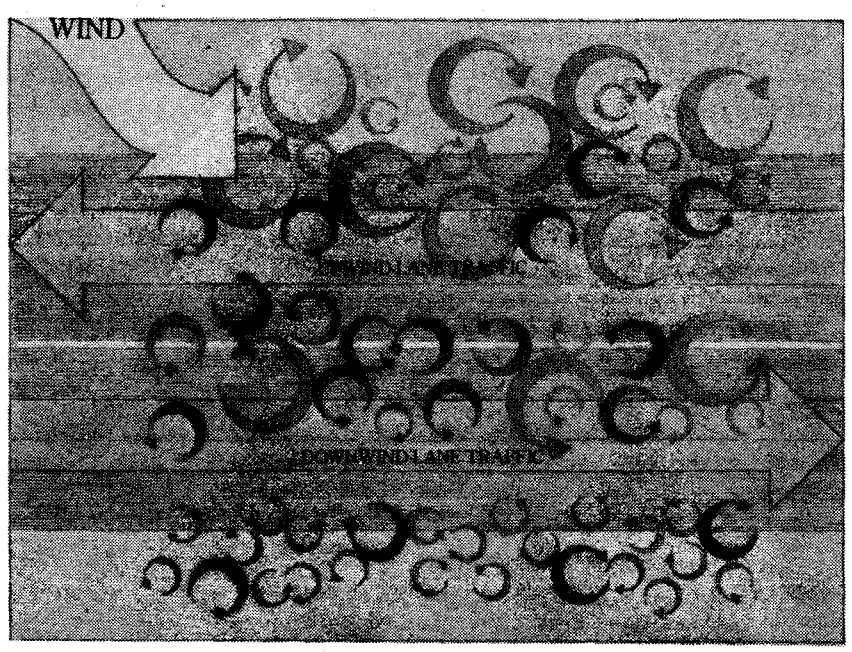



*Figure 1: Observed (solid lines) and predicted (dashed lines) tracer concentrations near ground level as a function of distance from the edge of the road. Black lines indicate the case in which the wind is perpendicular to the road; gray lines, when the wind is nearly parallel to the road and opposing the upwind-lane traffic.*

*Figure 2: This representation of a roadway viewed from above shows the location of large vortices formed by local wind shear when the wind opposes the upwind-lane traffic.*




BY USING the conservation-of-mass equation, one can describe the dispersion of gaseous molecules in the atmosphere. The equation includes terms for advection, diffusion, sources and sinks. Advection is the transport of air parcels by the mean wind; diffusion is due mainly to turbulent mixing. But the equation is useful only if we have information about the wind and temperature fields in the atmosphere. Specifically, our ability to predict vehicular exhaust concentrations near a road depends on knowledge of the effects of vehicles on these fields.

The conservation-of-mass equation for the mean concentration of any species, C, is

$$\frac{\partial C}{\partial t} + \sum_i \frac{\partial (U_i C)}{\partial x_i} = \sum_{i,j} \frac{\partial}{\partial x_i}\left(K_{ij}\frac{\partial C}{\partial x_j}\right) + So + Si$$

Local rate of change — Advection — Diffusion — Sources — Sinks

where $U_i$ is the mean wind velocity and $K_{ij}$ is the eddy diffusivity tensor. This equation applies when the length scale of mixing is small compared to that of the variation of the mean concentration. Near a road, this condition is met if the averaging time for the concentration and wind velocity is much longer than the time interval of vehicular passage. For a straight roadway, a long averaging time allows one to assume spatial uniformity in the direction parallel to the road, and to ignore the spatial derivatives in that direction.

The input information for $K_{ij}$ and the mean crossroad and vertical wind components near a roadway became available as a result of a large-scale experiment conducted by the General Motors Research Laboratories. The experiment has provided an understanding of the influence of moving vehicles on mechanical turbulence and buoyancy near a roadway. Dr. David Chock was responsible for the design of the experiment and the analysis of the data. The experiment, which duplicated a heavily traveled, level roadway, was conducted under meterological conditions minimizing dispersion.

Moving vehicles affect the mean crossroad and vertical wind components in the following ways. Vehicles act as an obstacle to the mean wind, causing it to slow and move upward as it approaches the vehicles and downward as it leaves the road. In addition, vehicles release heat, which causes a net upward motion. It was established that the increase in the mean vertical wind component due to the exhaust heat was $(B/U)^{1/2}$ where U is the crossroad wind component.



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electoral prospects of self-defined conservatives since 1964 does not result from any massive movement of the country in the conservative direction but rather of considerable movement by conservatives in the direction of what they earlier (and correctly) defined as the American liberal consensus.

In addition, self-defined conservatives have taken a few tactical pointers from their opponents. They have begun to honor and support writers and intellectuals. They have developed a network of institutions that cross the two parties. They have learned to become more understanding of the peculiar constituency problems that make elected officials ideologically impure. They have formed working alliances with people who may not even consider themselves conservative. And finally, they have performed a service always valued in a liberal state by adding a degree of vagueness and flexibility to political alignments. Specifically, they have assisted the ethnic thaw in our politics by providing a way-station for the many Catholics, Southerners, and Jews who have trouble calling themselves Republicans. In all, they have consciously built a political counter-establishment that has required no small change from the squabbling, minoritarian, often paranoiac attitudes of postwar movement politics, and will require still more changes—such as a less puerile reaction to the label "liberal"—if it is to take root.

Self-defined liberals, meanwhile, have busied themselves re-enacting the failures of the conservatives. The old Eastern Establishment trick of keeping a foot in both parties has for the moment eluded them. Their postwar passion for political ideals has given way to a fascination with managerial techniques: The consulting firm and think tank have increasingly displaced the pulpit and the seminar as fonts of their inspiration. And of course in using liberalism as a euphemism for socialism many self-designated liberals have followed Kendall and Burnham in defining themselves right out of the liberal consensus.

Yet in tagging themselves liberals or conservatives, even the most muddle-headed political operatives have kept sight of the bottom line: the U.S. Code, which attaches a wide range of disabilities to party labels while encouraging the "non-partisan" ideological ones. Call yourself a Republican or a Democrat and if the tax and conflict-of-interest inspectors don't get you, your opponents will demand equal time. But call yourself a "liberal" or a "conservative" and your partisan brawlings are instantly transformed into tax-exempt, eleemosynary activity. Introduced as a classy leavening of the two-party system, the ideological designations have by now so supplanted the idea of party in the affections of the political community that their overuse is itself evidence of the ascendancy of non-elected cadres in the ramified world of issue-oriented and movement politics.

All of which, let me repeat, has very little to do with the liberal tradition philosophically understood. But it does raise a problem for public discourse. Just as a debased currency drives real specie out of circulation, debased political rhetoric does the same for clear political thinking. George Orwell, a patron saint of the profession most responsible for the current state of public discourse, put the problem well in his famous essay, "Politics and the English Language":

The decline of a language must ultimately have political and economic causes: it is not due simply to the influence of this or that individual writer. But an effect can

The buoyancy flux, B, is proportional to the heat emission rate of the vehicles.

Moving vehicles also enhance both turbulence intensity and mixing. To determine how this modifies the eddy diffusivity tensor, $K_{ij}$, Dr. Chock invoked a "second-order closure" assumption, which relates eddy diffusivity to Reynolds stresses and the gradients of mean wind velocity and mean temperature. Eddy diffusivity was assumed to be the sum of ambient and traffic contributions. To determine the traffic contribution, the length scale of the traffic-induced turbulence was assumed to be comparable to vehicle height—1.5 m.

USING THE vast data base compiled during the experiment, Dr. Chock was able to specify $K_{ij}$ and the mean crossroad and vertical wind components, and solve the equation numerically. To test the model, half-hour measurements of a tracer gas were used to map out experimentally the exhaust dispersion under various meteorological conditions. The case where the wind speed is low and the wind direction is nearly perpendicular to the roadway is represented by the black lines in Figure 1. Both the model and the experiment show the same dispersion pattern. The peak concentration is on the downwind roadside.

When the wind is nearly parallel to the road, the situation is much more complicated. Figure 2 shows that when the wind and traffic flow on the upwind lanes oppose each other, a high shear region occurs immediately upwind of the first traffic lane. When the wind and traffic are in the same direction, the high shear region occurs in the median of the road. In these high shear regions, large eddies are generated and turbulent mixing is intense. The gray lines in Figure 1 show a comparison of the model's predictions with the tracer data for the case illustrated by Figure 2. Notice that the peak concentration can actually occur on the upwind roadside, due to the exhaust transport by these large eddies. Dr. Chock's model is the first to predict this occurrence.

Under all combinations of wind speeds and directions, the predictions based on the model compare favorably with the measured tracer concentrations. There is little systematic bias with respect to wind direction.

"In light of this new model, exhaust dispersion near a roadway can now be predicted with reliability," says Dr. Chock. "This is of importance for environmentally sound road planning, and opens the door to the investigation of dispersion on city streets, where the presence of tall structures introduces even further complexity."

## THE MAN BEHIND THE WORK

Dr. David Chock is a Senior Staff Research Scientist in the Environmental Science Department at the General Motors Research Laboratories.

Dr. Chock received his Ph.D. in Chemical Physics from the University of Chicago. His thesis concerned the quantum mechanics of molecules and molecular crystals. As a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Free University of Brussels, he did research work on the dynamics of critical phenomena. He did additional postdoctoral work in the fields of solid-state physics and fluid dynamics.

Dr. Chock joined the corporation in 1972. He is leader of the GM atmospheric modeling group. His current research interests include the phenomena of atmospheric transport and reactions, and the statistical study of time-series data.

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become a cause, reenforcing the original cause and producing the same effect in an intensified form, and so on indefinitely. A man may take a drink because he feels himself to be a failure and then fail all the more completely because he drinks. It is rather the same thing that is happening to the English language. It becomes ugly and inaccurate because our thoughts are foolish, but the slovenliness of our language makes it easier for us to have foolish thoughts. The point is that the process is reversible.

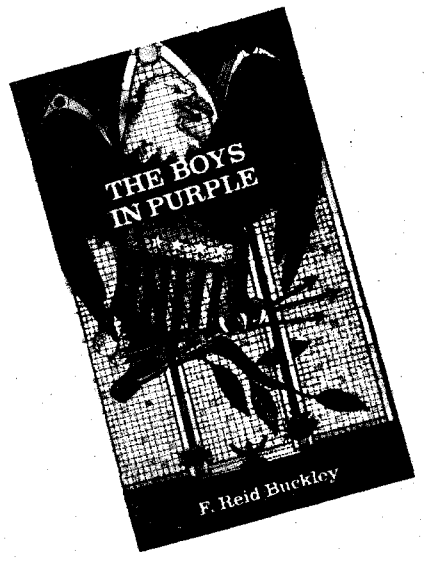
Reversible but not painless. For if our current political language is encouraging foolish thoughts, it may be because there is something serious we would prefer not to think about. That half our political community uses liberalism as a pejorative for all they consider decadent, while the other half defends it as a congeries of government patronage programs, suggests that a true and sharply defined liberalism might require seeing face to face what we now prefer to deal with only through a fog of catchwords and clichés. The classic enemy of true liberalism, after all, is not "conservatism"—a word better applied to a disposition or a temperament than to a political program in any case—but corporatism. And if we have muddied up the idea of liberalism, it may be to avert our eyes from the serious problem posed by modern corporate power.

• • •

I should perhaps pause to advise the reader that in abandoning the familiar directional signals of Left and Right our discussion must become less facile. For while most of us are accustomed to wolfing down whole columns of print based on liberal-conservative antinomies, we must ruminate over the simplest sentence that draws upon the deeper distinction between liberal and corporate ideals. In part this is because the liberal-corporate distinction, being fundamental, is more difficult to grasp. But in part it is because the cleverest and most ambitious amongst us, who staff the large corporate sources of our information and ideas, are wont to evade any line of thought that might subject their own roles to critical scrutiny. So much talent, indeed, is put into diverting us from the liberal-corporate distinction as to make it seem unfamiliar and academic. Yet if we are to catch and shape the drift of our politics, today's academic distinction will have to become tomorrow's terms of discussion.

In the past three centuries, a prime achievement of the liberal state has been the reconstitution of the corporation as an explicitly voluntary and artificial entity. There is no logical necessity about this development. The very word corporation suggests a contrary history. Its Latin root conjures up the organic metaphor of a living "body," in which the parts are indissoluble and interdependent, in which instinctive hierarchy and functional subordination are the natural order of things, in which, above all, a unified sense of purpose and place suffuses all members of the social organism. The Medieval Church and the feudal domain are often cited as corporate bodies in this natural, organic sense. One's membership in them, certainly, was a matter of birth rather than choice. They recognized no right of exit and tolerated no competing memberships within their spheres. They had the strong sense of community that comes when no other options exist. Corporatism as a political ideology has often evinced nostalgia for warmth and security of the imposed association that was allegedly the hallmark of the Middle Ages and that now is sought in a new utopia: Japan.


# Here's Something You Missed*

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But the corporation as we know it under the liberal state in fact has medieval antecedents of a very different kind. It harks back not to the feudal manor or monastery but to the scholastic university, chartered as a unified legal person yet comprising a shifting body of itinerant scholars. The scholastic lecturer or student went from one university town to another, contracting for services rendered or delivered. He was the real pioneer of the mobile, freely associating, corporate individual under liberal government. The variegated flowering of late medieval thought under the corporate aegis of the university presaged the plural, vital, and flexible character of the corporation of modern liberal society.

If modernity has added anything crucial to the concept of the corporation, it is the explicit recognition of the political conditions that must prevail if corporate association is to remain noncoercive.

The first such condition is a state concerned chiefly to maintain the rule of law and the effective equality before it of all subjects. If, on the other hand, the state conceives of itself as a corporate conglomerate managing the affairs of society, then law will become confused with managerial policy; the state power that is justified when law is used as a framework to enable people to pursue their self-chosen projects will then become a coercive instrument for directing them to pursue projects not of their choosing.

The second political precondition is that corporations not pre-empt the ground of citizenship reserved to individual human beings. Corporations can acquire, in addition to the legal personality granted them by law, certain quasi-human attributes. They can inspire loyalty—"It is a small college, but there are those who love it," Daniel Webster told a tear-stained bench in the Dartmouth College case that established the inviolability of corporate charters in this country. They can be paternal, enterprising, philanthropic, farsighted, decisive, and wise. Properly subordinated to the state, they can both moderate and strengthen popular government. But if they are viewed as "mediating structures" that substitute for the independent exercise of citizenship by the individuals who work within them, the result is a corporatist and not a liberal state, in which institutional affiliation rather than common humanity determines one's relation to the law. The state then rules the corporations, which in turn rule their members.

A third political pre-condition rests in the minds of the citizens themselves. They must be able simultaneously to hold and to distinguish two sensibilities: the procedural sensibility that is at the heart of liberalism and the entrepreneurial or managerial sensibility that justifies corporate organization. Corporations are chartered to achieve results. They are organized hierarchies in which reward is properly proportioned to what each participant can demand for his contribution to some articulated purpose. Rewards are inevitably unequal because contributions differ and because the incentives under which they can be concerted also differ. A result-oriented mode of thought that discriminates among individuals by performance is not only inevitable but desirable under the corporate ideal.

By contrast, under the liberal ideal there is no overarching collective project to be managed (except in the event of war). Instead, there is a special public realm into which the state throws its weight to assure full equality before the law among all its subjects. Since this equality is defined by and operates through a system of laws, a procedural sensibility is paramount here.

But the larger point is that there is no area of practical endeavor in which either the managerial or the procedural sensibility suffices. The trick is to combine the two in a way appropriate to the activity at hand. A liberal society can remain vigorous and humane only if its citizenry has a developed sense of the proper spheres of law on the one hand and management on the other. For the United States, which is not merely liberal but also democratic, heterogeneous, and committed to the principle of natural rights, this requires an exceptionally ambitious program of civic education. At the very minimum its citizens must be able to see the difference between what is essential to liberal government and what (from one or another point of view) is merely desirable. Thus, while it is essential that all citizens have adequate counsel in criminal cases, it is merely desirable that there be an attractive piece of sculpture outside the courthouse. Though it is essential that the government manage its police forces and court system, no similar necessity requires that it manage one-third of the nation's land.

Ideally, one would like all citizens to have a mature sense of the limits of both the liberal and corporate ideals, of their shifting meanings in different contexts and their own inner logic. The kind of education that traditionally imparts this critical ability is, not coincidentally, still called a liberal education.

• • •

A liberal education consists not in any set curriculum nor in the mere avoidance of anything that smacks of vocationalism (for as Robert Pirsig has shown, even motorcycle maintenance can be approached in a liberal way) but in the spirit in which the education is carried out. Hence liberal education cannot always be distinguished on external grounds from pre-corporate training programs. Both liberal education and pre-corporate training customarily involve an organized course of study —a curriculum—and a diploma to certify that this course has been completed. But a liberal education has two aspects that go well beyond granting a credential. First, liberal education entails a dedication to "free" inquiry, that is, to a self-chosen course of study and reflection with no preordained conclusions; second, it demands a devotion to a disciplined tradition of such inquiry, with acknowledged masters and classics.

These two aspects—freedom and discipline—cannot be separated. They are two sides of the same coin. In designing a curriculum one can emphasize one aspect or the other, but they are always correlative. Two small American liberal arts colleges provide examples of the integrity of opposing approaches to the liberal curriculum. St. John's College, Maryland, immerses the student in a set curriculum of masterworks; Marlboro College, Vermont, the nation's smallest accredited college, gives students the opportunity to design an


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individualized Plan of Concentration in a one-to-one tutorial setting over two years. St. John's stresses the traditional, disciplined element in liberal education; Marlboro the adventurous spirit of free inquiry. In both cases, the success of the experiment depends not on the formal structure but on the commitment of teachers and students to use it in a way that calls forth the correlative element of discipline or freedom as the case may be.*

A disciplined tradition provides the context in which free inquiry has meaning; while, on the other side, in choosing a project of one's own design a discipline becomes not something imposed but freely acknowledged and made one's own. The more seriously one engages in some field of "free" inquiry the more humble one becomes in acknowledging the mastery of it by others, and yet the more dutifully one submits to the rigors of a disciplined tradition, the more one becomes aware of it as an arena for the display of individuality and (should one become creative in it oneself) as a medium in which one's own self-expression is elevated beyond idiosyncrasy.

In a college course of three or four years this continuing tension between freedom and discipline may produce as by-products certain marketable skills and credentials. But the minute these become the overriding goal, either for teacher or student, the liberal character of the education vanishes. For a liberal education is nothing more nor less than a carefully designed experiment in ordered freedom, a structured experience to be pursued for its own excellence rather than for any extrinsic reward. Insofar as it prepares a student for anything, it does so obliquely, by forming moral habits appropriate to a life of self-determination in a liberal democracy.

That the ideal of freedom in liberal education complements that in liberal democracy used to be a cliché. Especially after World War II, when the liberal character of our civilization had just been saved, invoking the parallel liberal ideals in higher education and politics was standard rhetoric among politicians and college presidents alike. Now it sounds curiously antique. The word liberal has fallen into such confusion in politics that it is trotted out very gingerly by educators, who must think twice about its Pavlovian effect on ignorant millionaires. The oblique but unmistakable connection between liberal education and democratic political institutions is rarely made.

Granted, the content of freedom in education and politics can never be identical. Politics ultimately involves coercion, while liberal education begins only after the coercive part of schooling has been put aside. Still, the disciplined inquiry of higher education and the ordered liberty of politics bear a strong family resemblance that makes clear why both are properly called liberal.

Just as in liberal education freedom entails the recognition and acceptance of conditions of discipline, so in liberal democracy the pursuit of self-chosen projects by citizens entails the reasoned acknowledgement of a tradition of order. In liberal democracy this tradition is not an academic discipline but a constitutional one. It consists of, is defined by, and is changed through laws. What makes it democratic is that some of the laws specify ways in which the citizenry as a whole may participate in forming, enforcing, and interpreting the other laws; this they usually do indirectly, through republican institutions. Citizens need not approve of all the laws all the time, but they do acknowledge not only that the laws are authoritative but also (and this is the magic of the democratic element) that the laws are their own. And, as with free inquiry, the ordered liberty of politics is practiced for its own sake, not because it necessarily leads to a greater GNP or to a lower crime rate or to great works of art. It is itself a work of art.

One can, of course, have a rule-of-law society that is not liberal and not democratic, in which the laws are imposed by a unitary sovereign, as in the late Roman imperium, and in which politics consists not of citizens participating in the formation of law and the selection of magistrates but only of subjects who pay the taxes imposed by a higher authority. The appropriate form of political education in such a society would be indoctrination in the infallibility of the temporal sovereign, who might have to be declared during his lifetime either a direct agent of God or a god himself, as in fact occurred in third-century Rome. By contrast, the implicit doctrine of liberal democracy might be called fallibilism—namely, the belief that every person errs, that every corporate body of persons pursues interests that err, and that the only trustworthy corrective in politics is a sufficient diversity of persons and interests to recognize error and limit its corrupting effects. Here, too, the open-ended and self-critical character of liberal education, its stress on procedures of inquiry rather than on reaching foreordained conclusions, its habit of pursuing truth for its own sake, provides a rough preparation for the balanced and patient political reasoning appropriate within a liberal democracy.

And to take the family resemblance one last step further: Just as liberal education can be subverted without any change in its formal routines of degree-granting by the corporate ethos of careerism, so liberal democracy, even within its own procedures, is perennially threatened by other aspects of corporatism—threatened on three levels: first, at the deepest philosophical level, by a view of the state itself as a primarily managerial body; second, by the tendency of corporations within the state (whether they are profit or nonprofit corporations makes no difference) to usurp the ground reserved for citizens; third, by the *esprit de corps* among citizens who in the legitimate exercise of their democratic rights group themselves into bodies inimical to the moderate character of liberal government. These are age-old problems, and none is insuperable when there is clarity about the character of liberal government itself. But as we have seen, an amiable and vocal confusion about the character of liberalism comes naturally to leaders of public opinion. To corporate intellectuals, the distinction between liberalism and conservatism (or even between socialism and capitalism) obviously has greater appeal than the more traditional and illuminating one between liberalism and corporatism.

• • •

Do not suppose that I intend to conclude with an attack on bureau-

*To further the liberal spirit at Marlboro, the Thompson Foundation has endowed a college-wide lecture in which the speaker takes a position contrary to the prevailing opinions of the students. This essay is based in part on one such lecture, in part on a contribution to a Princeton conference on "the future of liberalism."


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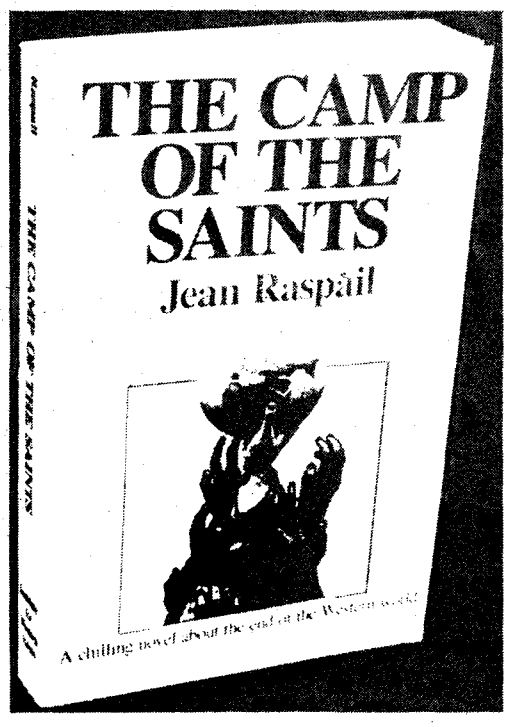


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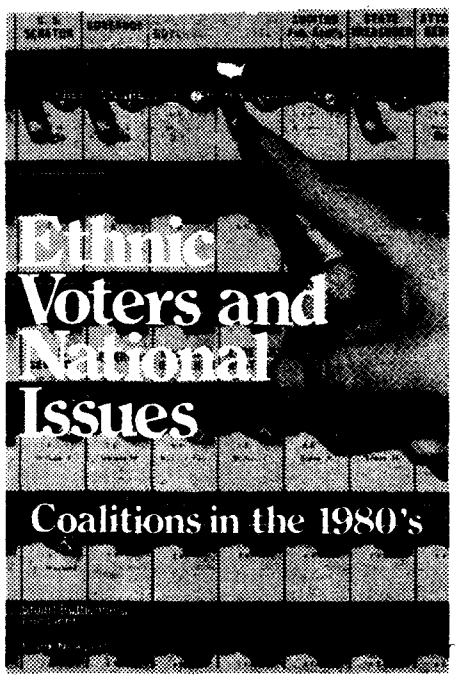


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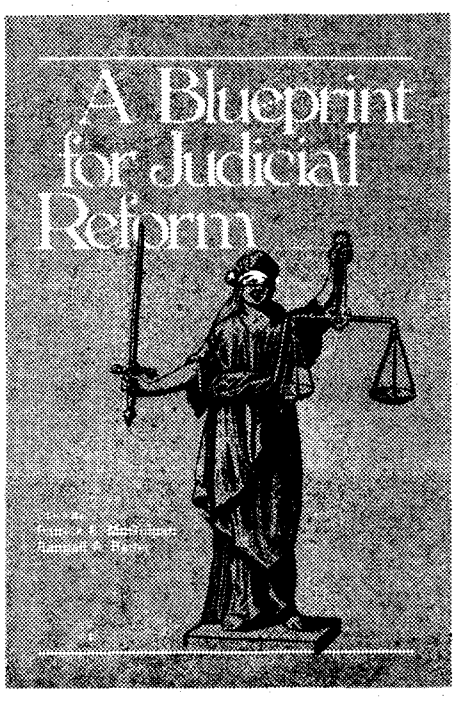


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cracy in general or to romanticize the small, tightly knit communities of yesteryear. The scale and organization of American corporate life is a considerable achievement, to be admired more than deplored. Corporations are no threat to a government that knows its business or to a people who know their rights. Corporations are themselves chartered by government and therefore easily within its control. The difficulty arises when government itself is confused, when law-making is taken as a purely administrative activity and the corporation is seen as the model rather than the creature and complement of the liberal state.

One can understand the appeal of the corporation to government policymakers. The corporation can issue managerial orders that are not laws, repudiate them without the consent of the courts, and revise them without a legislative process. It can move quickly and reorganize itself speedily. It can merge, split, sell off, and buy up organizational pieces at will. It can transfer operations between regions and countries. It has legal personality with no set period of expiration. Like government, it can endure in perpetuity; unlike government it can pick up and move to a more favorable climate. In all its various forms of organization and finance, it is a powerful engine for getting a job done.

The main point of liberal government, however, is not to get things done. Bear in mind the fundamental fact about liberal democracy: It consists of a system of laws. Liberalism means first and foremost a rule-of-law regime, a regime of civility, as Michael Oakeshott has called it. Its first obligation is to maintain and enforce the laws. These should not be promulgated as evanescent managerial orders, but as stable conditions within which citizens and corporations may pursue their self-chosen projects. They should not only command obligation but be worthy of it. And when government has projects to manage, it should do so whenever possible without using laws as administrative devices. With laws, the simpler and stabler the better. It is a very difficult feat just to keep a system of law in good repair in a period of rapid change.

And it is even more difficult when, as in the United States, the rule-of-law regime is not only liberal and democratic but also grounded in ideas of natural right. The peculiarly American contribution to liberal practice is the notion that all human beings have natural rights that deserve to be given constitutional form. The British don't have a bill of rights; our Canadian neighbors had a long and agonizing debate before adopting one recently. The theological roots of such a notion in Catholic natural law doctrine are no single nation's property. But there is little question that the American Republic is the pre-eminent liberal system to have put this radical principle at its core. It was not due to a few chance rhetorical phrases that Jefferson inserted into the Declaration of Independence. The principle of self-evident natural rights was written into many state constitutions. It was actively discussed in the colleges (the English commencement topic at the College of New Jersey in 1770, the year James Madison graduated, was "All men by the law of nature are free"). It was sealed in blood during the Civil War. From that war onward equality, as Harry Jaffa has put it, has been America's conservative principle—not equality of opportunity, a sometimes useful fiction, nor equality of outcome, a wholly unenforceable fiction, but equality before the law, equality in effective citizenship.

Well before the Civil War, Lincoln grasped the far-reaching ramifications of this idea: "All honor to Jefferson," he wrote to some New England admirers, "to the man who in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people had the coolness, forecast and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that today and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression."

Lincoln's "abstract" view of equality, though now an American orthodoxy, has always made the rest of the world (excepting perhaps France) uneasy. In application, it has been used to justify more than a purely juridical liberalism. Effective citizenship has, at a bare minimum, certain prerequisites, which were once legislated as literacy and property qualifications. Though the legislative requirements have been abandoned, there are undeniable preconditions to the exercise of effective citizenship, and these remain a proper justification for state action under natural right liberalism. Leaving aside national defense and infrastructure expenditure, government intervention can be defended on liberal grounds only as a means of empowering Americans with the preconditions to become informed, upstanding, self-supporting citizens. The wholesale provision to homesteaders of western lands had this rationale (on a Jeffersonian view of agrarian democracy), as did the public education movement—two great Republican causes. The enactment of wage protection and welfare entitlements during the New Deal also had a liberal rationale, as did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the provision of legal and safety net services to the poor during the Great Society.

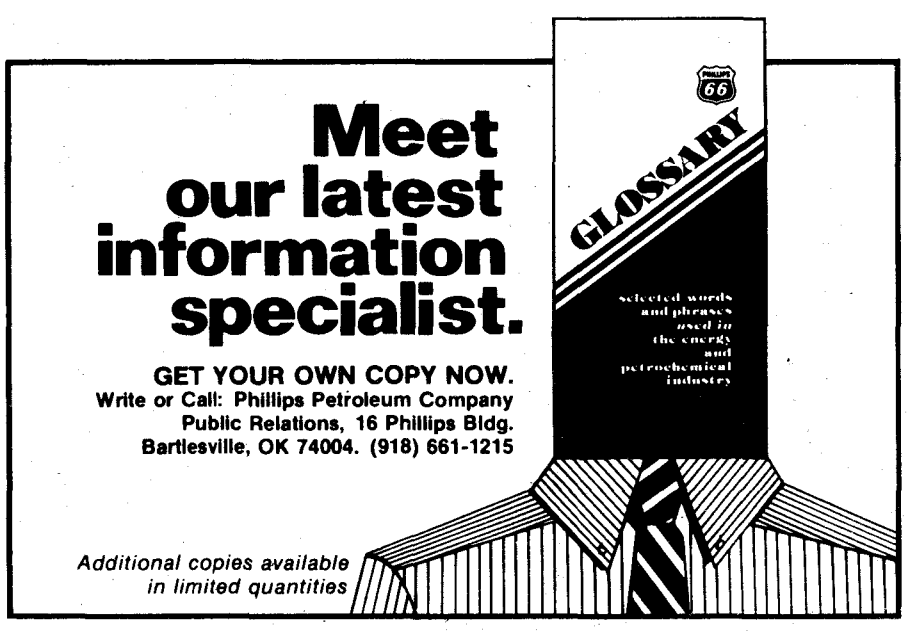
It is not my concern here to argue either for a maximal or a minimal interpretation of the liberal rationale or to consider the very interesting differences between a liberalism of limited franchise based on property-holders (sometimes called "classical liberalism") versus one based on the universal franchise of all potential wage-earners. I merely wish to point out that in whatever century and for whatever constituency, American liberalism contains a strong presumption against any government activity that fails to advance the rights of citizens as citizens.

This liberal standard is very elastic. But it is systematically obfuscated by our current political language. Some of the worst offenders are self-designated liberals themselves, who have substituted for the liberal idea either a managerial one, in which government is seen as maximizing certain indices of economic success, or worse still, an essentially paternalistic idea of a professional services state, in which the relationship of state to citizen is replaced by that of bureaucratic professional to clientele group. It is almost as if, instead of a partnership in justice, "liberals" saw the state as a partnership either in prosperity or in therapy.

The consequences of either view for law are especially unfortunate. The managerial view of the state results in a politics conducted mainly as a series of negotiations among heads of large corporate interests, for it is the only blue-chip tier of the economy that the state can even pretend to manage in any case. In promoting a confusion of law with managerial directives, it undermines not only legal stability but also the citizen's inner sense of legal obligation. In the paternalistic view of the state, the corruption of law takes another form. Law, ultimately a coercive device, becomes an instrument of moral uplift and "compassion." It is used to mandate morals, therapies, and comforts which, however desirable, are in no way necessary to the exercise of citizenship.

The American liberal ideal, by contrast, stresses a politics conducted among citizens who are united by law and equal before it by natural right. In a world of transnational institutions, mercantilist rivalries, and great power politics, this simple ideal is so ambitious and precarious as to permit very little room for inexact thinking. In public debate the word liberal ("this almost indispensable term," Friedrich Hayek called it in an admonition to America's self-defined conservatives) is the only one available to remind us of the concept of ordered freedom that brings coherence to our several traditions of education, scientific inquiry, law, material progress, and religious toleration.

Several scholars seem to be rediscovering America's deeper liberalism. Professor Theodore J. Lowi, whose influential book proclaimed *The End of Liberalism* in 1969 and proposed instead "juridical democracy" (i.e., liberalism), has more recently had second thoughts: "In its most fundamental meaning the liberal tradition is worth defending," Lowi wrote in 1978. "To what extent is it endangered by the very state that modern liberals have produced?" Our current way of discussing politics diverts attention from this question. □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# BACK TO NATURE

by Werner J. Dannhauser

What's happened to sex in the last fifteen years? Maybe nobody knows. Privacy still shrouds the subject, Heaven be praised, so sex remains to some extent inaccessible to our lust for data. People still "do" it, but the details are subject to the sanctioned lies of those who do it too much or too little, and of the rest of mankind, too. All our speculations fail to transcend speculation, for when it comes to sex each of us speaks from a small corner of experience and a vast domain of brooding. Compounding my own ignorance is the fact that I have aged about ten years during the past fifteen, a fate that may skew my views.

What has happened to sex in the last fifteen years? I ask again, for the question obviously encourages evasion and I would like to be able to answer that nothing has happened to it. To talk of sex is to talk of the erotic and to talk of the erotic is to talk of the natural and nature is what remains everywhere and always the same. Conventions change; nature abides. What we read in the Bible (Proverbs 30:19) of "the way of a man with a maid" remains perfectly intelligible to us, after all.

Alas, appeals to nature and God are also evasions. The "force that through the green fuse drives the flower" may be a constant, but nobody has ever denied that the blossoms can vary tremendously in beauty, in size, and in much else. Nature not only means constancy but infinite variety. Change, too, is natural.

What then has changed? I abstract from certain long-range changes—the fact that females are menstruating at a younger age, for example—to concentrate on what has happened since 1967.

In 1967, divorce was still a political issue. One wondered about Rockefeller's chances as a presidential candidate; he was divorced. The Left said it should not matter and the Right muttered that it should too matter. In 1982 we have our first divorced President, a conservative.

In 1967, talk of masturbation was still risqué. We read, at about that time, chapters of Roth's forthcoming *Portnoy's Complaint*. I was not one of the admirers of that book, but I was surely among those who laughed at Portnoy's escapades in the bathroom and on the bus. It was a nervous laughter, prompted in part by Roth's public talk about what was thought to be private. In 1982, I hear women talk about vibrators across the dinner table. They still laugh, but not very nervously.

In 1967, miniskirts were starting to appear and my friends and I leered in happy disbelief. In 1982 miniskirts were so ancient they were ready for a comeback.

In 1967, people still remembered Hedy Lamarr's nudity in *Ecstasy*. It was still strange, then, that a famous star should "show all"; today it is commonplace.

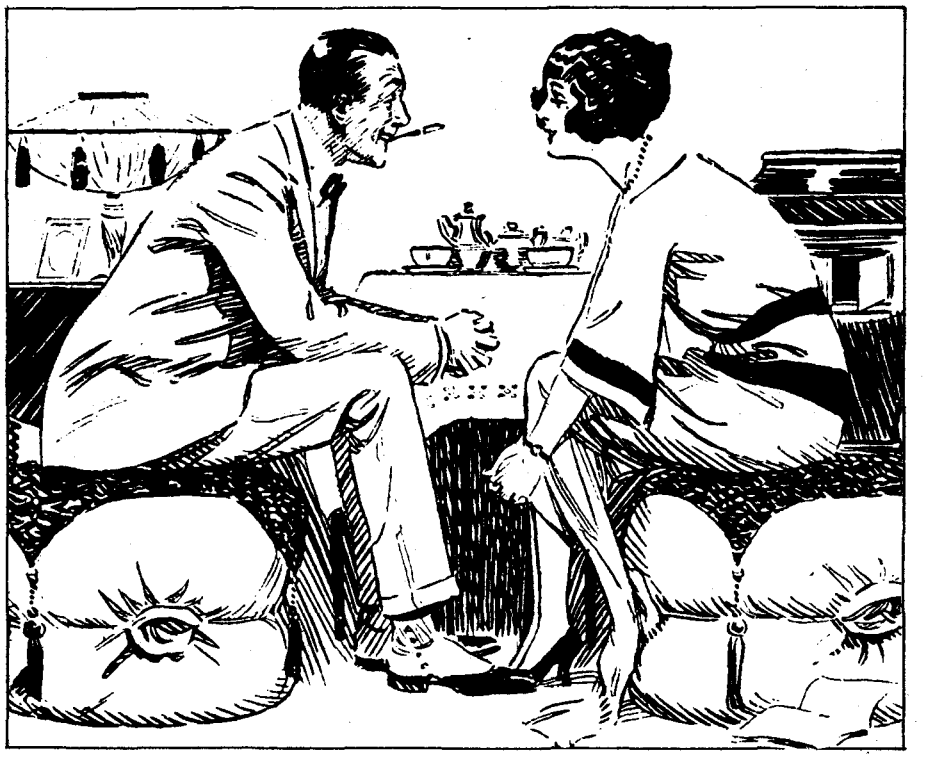
Had enough? I have, so I will stop cataloguing changes and try to evaluate them. Being constantly attacked as a hidebound reactionary, I am happy to be able to approve of some of the changes. In some respects our views of divorce have become more reasonable, or at least less tinged by repulsive moralism. By and large we have also become more humane when thinking about homosexuality, less thoughtlessly shocked by what seems strange to most of us.

On the whole, though, most of what has happened to sex in the last fifteen years strikes me as dreadful. The erotic is everywhere in trouble. That sounds stupid but it may nevertheless be so. Surveying the lives of all my married friends, I discover that good marriages are more rare now than they were in 1967. The erotic has always been connected (surprise) with procreation. I find that motherhood, which was once understood as a fulfillment for most women (never for all), is today understood as a chore by most. Pregnancy is once more fashionable, to be sure, but one is careful to involve males in the chores, the burdens, the agonies. As far as I can see, the males do not protest much. Everywhere I look I see them weary and wary of their sexuality and its results. It simply doesn't seem to be as much fun to be a man now as it used to be, though some men delude themselves into thinking that women's liberation has brought about their own liberation as well.

What has happened to sex in the last fifteen years? Women's liberation—that, of course, is the main part of the answer. Saying that, I do not mean to deny that the movement was already growing, or even thriving, in 1967, but it was surely not the same as it is now. In 1967, the movement's appeal was compelling to all men of good will. We all knew suburban housewives stuck with inferior husbands who no longer loved them; we all knew underpaid women who worked for overpaid men. A kind of moral grandeur still informed much of the talk about improving woman's lot. When, therefore, the Senate began hearings on ERA in 1970, many of us thought that the amendment was part of the wave of the future, regardless of our reservations about it. Nor were we necessarily wrong, for the recent defeat of ERA is probably the temporary outcome of political ineptitude—including the disingenuousness, combined with sheer rudeness, of politicians like Bella Abzug.

Notwithstanding the ERA setback, the women's movement can justly take credit for breathtaking accomplishments in the last fifteen years. During that period, to be sure, it also lost the good will of many men and women of good will, but that was just fine with the movement's vanguard; it has become ever easier to charge people of good will with bad faith. The victories encourage arrogance, and anybody who doubts that there have been victories should look at changes in the English language between 1967 and 1982. English has become unsexed. The language's mysterious genius in assigning gender has become suspect as sexist, though many of the finest things—including truth and most virtues—were always thought to be feminine.

The changes in language both reflect changes in realities and produce them. Thus today one can hardly talk of being "manly" with a straight face, and more and more men are afraid to be that. One watches one's step all the time; one has to be on guard. The question used to be, "What does woman want?" and when we asked that we were not, like Freud, expressing despair at our inability to understand women. We accepted them as wondrously strange and tried to please them, to win their approval. Today, the question more often than not has



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become, "What does the women's movement want?"

It's hard to find an answer because when one begins to study feminist thought one is forever at the edge of incoherence. That is probably because feminists never seem to know whether to argue that women are exactly like men, so that all attempts to point out differences are sexist, or that women are so completely different that all attempts to think of common humanity have to be opposed as a sexist plot. Are women "merely" equal to men or are they superior? It is difficult to know the answer feminists would give.

But one cannot argue that disagreements about the "big" questions attest to the vitality of feminist thought, for in one momentous respect all feminists agree. *The whole movement distrusts nature.* That is why it puts all its eggs into the rickety basket called "socialization," and does its best to deny that one can socialize with the grain or against it. But one can blame a hostile environment only so long; sooner or later one begins to rail against the way things are—never mind that nature may have graced women in very special ways.

The resentment of nature is the key to the women's movement. It explains its alliance with the Left, which cannot be due to the way women are treated in countries calling themselves Marxist. It explains the movement's grim mood, the absence in it of humor, and of gratitude for the world we inhabit.

It also explains why the women's movement may begin by promoting sexual equality, but forever bends in the direction of assaulting sexuality as such. It is as forthrightly sexual beings that we are most natural. When eros possesses us we do not care for differences of race, of nationality, of social station; we just want to do what comes naturally. The most outstanding paradox of the last fifteen years is that a movement professing to be interested in liberation has everywhere produced a new sexual constraint. Fewer women now want to argue with men—bristling is the mode. Fewer men want to be bold with women—all vestiges of courage are now considered to be a form of despicable *machismo.* And when one hears all the idiocies about sexual harassment one knows that—but that is a story for another time.

Can this onslaught on nature succeed? I do not know, but signs abound to the effect that nature has been wounded, that in 1982 sex isn't what it was in 1967. I hope that nature proves as resilient as *she* is supposed to be. (The only good thing one can say for the spread of Herpes II is that it may be nature's way of fighting against the attempt to divorce sex from risk.) I do hope she prevails, defended by both men and women who find it natural to assist nature. I hope the day will return when we can once more celebrate sexuality as gloriously as did the writer of the Proverb from which I have already quoted:

> There be three things which are too wonderful for me, yea, four which I know not: the way of an eagle in the air; the way of a serpent upon a rock; the way of a ship in the midst of the sea; and the way of a man with a maid. □

# MEDIA

## THE ROAD TO ANTHONY LEWIS

by Peter W. Rodman

It used to be the case, when the U.S. Marines landed somewhere, that the *other* guys were supposed to be scared. Today, apparently, it is different. When the President first dispatched the Marines to Beirut in August 1982, he was obliged to give the Congress and the public effusive reassurances that the Marines would come running home to mommy instantly if so much as a firecracker went off in Beirut. Ronald Reagan cannot possibly share such an abjectly timid view of the American role in the world; presumably he was making an accurate judgment of the congressional and public mood.

This of course is the Vietnam trauma, which is very much still with us. The self-confident role of world leadership that America played as recently as the 1960s had suffered a body blow by the 1970s. The extraordinary timidity about the use of our power, pounded deep into the American psyche by the Vietnam failure, took the form, in some quarters, of a belief in the immorality of the use of our power. Rarely has a society undergone such a psychological transformation in such a brief time, short of wholesale political revolution, massive physical destruction, or overwhelming defeat by a foreign enemy. America's world role and position went through something else: a domestic, intellectual upheaval. The media played a major part in it: reflecting it, affected by it, and, undeniably, contributing to it.

It is hard to believe, but true, that in the late summer of 1965 CBS television ran a four-part series on the Vietnam war, supporting the Johnson Administration. One segment of the series was entitled, "How We Can Win." How far we have come since then! Within a few years, CBS had become a consistent and powerful opponent of the war. Much of television's impact was inherent in the medium: Seeing the grim reality of war every night in one's living room was bound to corrode the national spirit. Nevertheless it can no longer be doubted that, for many of the major national media, faithful reportage soon turned into advocacy. One of the first to document this was Peter Braestrup in his *Big Story*, an exhaustive analysis of how the American press and television helped to turn the Tet offensive of 1968 from a Viet Cong military setback into a crushing American political defeat. Martin F. Herz did the same with his study of *The Prestige Press and the Christmas Bombing, 1972,* showing how the media's bitter hostility distorted coverage of the nature and impact of the December 1972 bombing around Hanoi and Haiphong. Distinguished foreign correspondent Robert Elegant gave important evidence in *Encounter* (August 1981) of the subtle and not-so-subtle biases of many of his former colleagues in the Saigon press corps.

The media did not invent the war or our difficulties in it; they did, however, contribute to how Americans thought about Vietnam—and about their country. The *New York Times,* in its June 1971 exposé of the "Pentagon Papers," fostered the notion that massive deception was involved in the way we got into Vietnam. One of its headlines charged that the Johnson Administration had already decided to launch the bombing campaign over North Vietnam at a time when LBJ was telling American voters before the 1964 election that he would not send American boys to fight in Asian wars. The Pentagon compiler of the Pentagon Papers, Leslie Gelb, points out in his own book about the war that the decision was not made until early 1965. The canard of government deception persists nevertheless. It is too useful: It conveniently allows many who *supported* the war in its early phase to disavow responsibility. Henry Fairlie wrote a corrective piece in the *Washington Monthly* in May 1973, showing that it was all nonsense: Every step taken into Vietnam was public knowledge; "at no moment, as the commitment was made, were the American press or the American people in the dark about what was being done."

The charge of deceit soon spread from the war to foreign policy in general. It became a key weapon in the counterculture assault on the legitimacy of all American institutions, in keeping with I.F. Stone's dictum: "Every government is run by liars and nothing they say should be believed."

Today, as the horrors of Communist rule in Indochina have prompted a healthy revisionist literature shedding new light on the moral case for the American effort there, the theme of government deception seems ironically to be taking on special importance as the last refuge of those struggling to salvage the antiwar position. Witness "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception," CBS's January 1982 hatchet job on General William Westmoreland for

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*Peter W. Rodman served on the National Security Council staff in the Nixon and Ford Administrations.*


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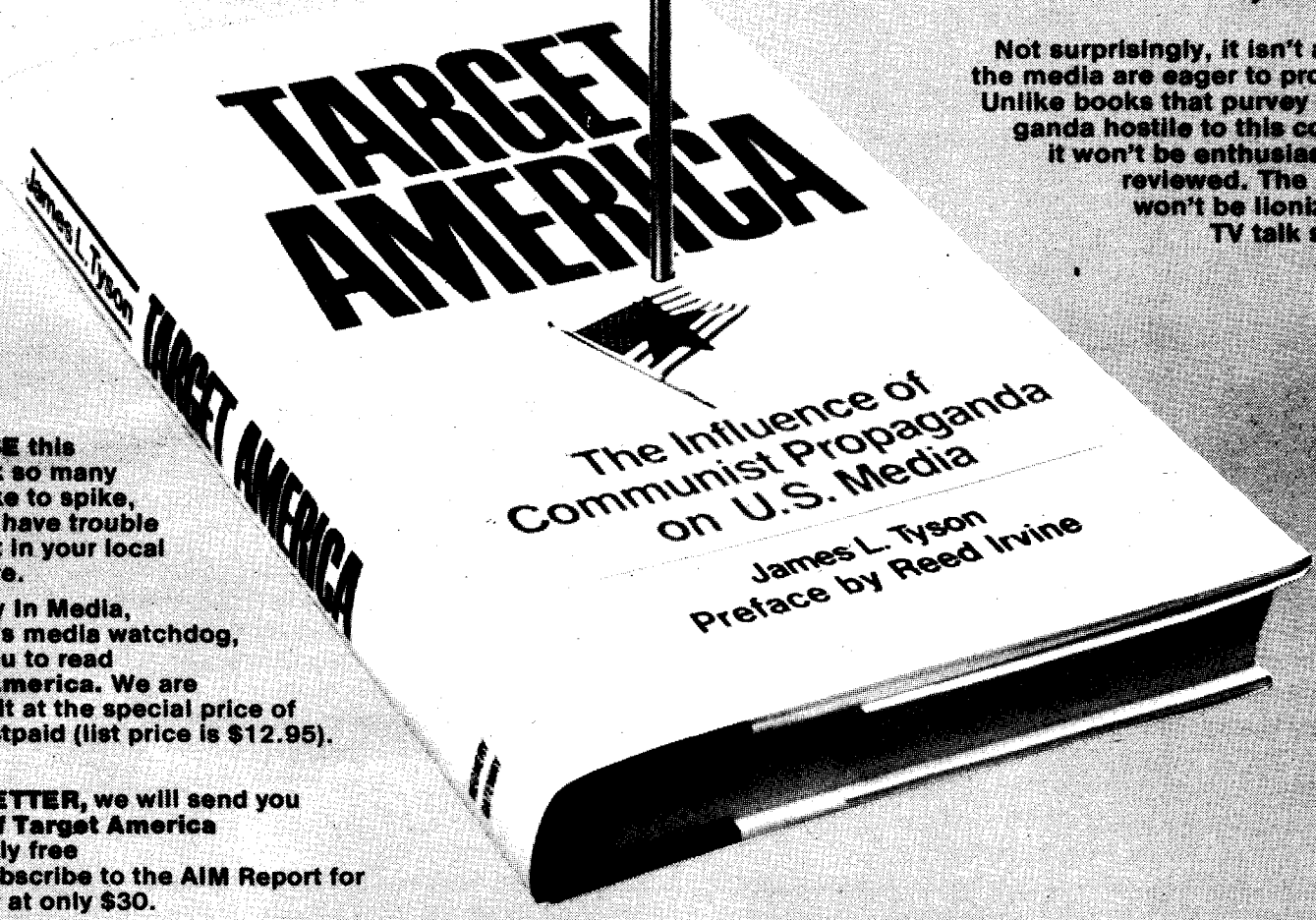
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allegedly misrepresenting to his superiors the size and strength of the enemy, to make it appear that he was winning the war. General Westmoreland's libel suit against CBS promises to be a major event. If CBS, as reported, hopes to put the war on trial, the good general has an opportunity to put CBS's war coverage on trial. A showing of systematic antiwar bias would not, I assume, be irrelevant to the required proof of legal malice. It would be true poetic justice if the antiwar media's Parthian shot at General Westmoreland should backfire and turn into a devastating challenge to the veracity, motivation, and ethics of CBS's conduct throughout the Vietnam war.

Why all this happened is a subject I leave to better qualified analysts of the American psyche. It is clear, at a minimum, that a major change took place in the social composition of the American journalistic profession in the generation after World War II. There was a time when one's image of journalists was out of *The Front Page*: the brash, graying, streetwise, poker-playing, lower-middle-class city reporters covering crime and local politics, which usually overlapped. But with the 1960s came the Harvard *Crimson* generation: the hotshot, upwardly mobile, sophisticated analysts of the world scene—not police reporters but aspiring intellectuals. It's a long way from Ernie Pyle to Anthony Lewis.

Of course this reflects the great cultural and social change in America during the postwar period: the explosion of higher education, the democratization of the world of thought and opinion. But as many observers from Daniel Patrick Moynihan to Joseph Kraft have noted, these changes created a new media elite, and the new elite, for a variety of psychological and sociological reasons, became a champion of what Moynihan called the "adversary culture." It became an article of ideological faith of this new elite that American power was a source of much of the world's problems: that American corporations determined American foreign policy; that America wasted the world's resources, exploited the Third World, sustained tyrants in power, provoked the arms race, and either deliberately courted conflict or constantly missed opportunities for peace. During the Vietnam era, the liberal media and liberal Congress developed a symbiotic relationship, with exposés in one forum feeding new investigations in the other—Senator Frank Church's intelligence investigations being one glaring, and damaging, example.

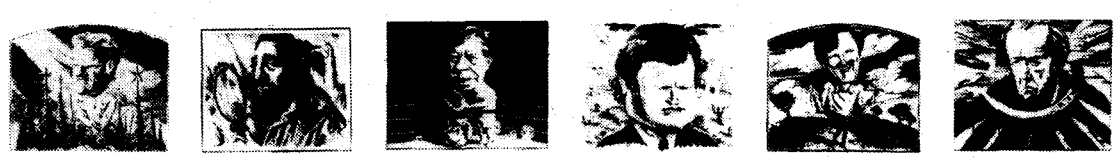
A huge gap opened up between these elite attitudes and the traditional convictions of most Americans. But the incessant and pervasive propagation of the fashionable opinions was bound to have its effect. As Abraham Lincoln observed in 1858, "he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

Professor Galbraith, in *The New Industrial State*, declared that the role of the intellectual was "strategic." The greatest force for political change, he predicted, would be the intellectual community and its influence over the new educated class that would come to dominate all spheres of American life—business, government, the professions, the media, culture. (Flower child Charles Reich popularized the idea in *The Greening of America*, acknowledging his debt to Galbraith.)

Galbraith was no fool. As recounted by S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman in the October/November 1981 *Public Opinion*, a comprehensive survey of leading reporters, editors, producers, and news executives from the major national news organizations revealed that 81 percent of them had voted for George McGovern in 1972.

Neither we nor the Chinese have yet fully recovered from our respective cultural revolutions. □

# POLITICS



## THE PARTY'S OVER

by Karl O'Lessker

Practically everyone now agrees that the traditional American two-party system is in an advanced state of dissolution. And practically everyone believes that this has come about as a result of the prior dissolution of the century-old American political consensus. In my view that is a reversal of cause and effect—if indeed it makes any sense at all to talk about an American political consensus that once flourished but has now gone to seed. What seems obvious to me at least is that powerful strains on the consensus have always existed but until recently these were contained within a strong, resilient two-party system. Under the blows of profound social change, however, that system is now crumbling. No longer can it accommodate these strains, which after all are no more severe than those it faced during such periods as 1896-1912 and 1930-1940.

There are irony and paradox aplenty in this. In the bad old days of relatively strong and effective parties, both major parties were ideological shambles. Academics, reformers, and the better class of journalists never tired of pointing with a mixture of pity and horror to the fact that Northern urban liberals sat side by side in the Democratic party with Southern rural reactionaries, while Taftites and Goldwaterites shared the Republican mantle with liberal Eastern internationalists of the Dewey-Lodge-Rockefeller persuasion.

Today by contrast both parties are ideologically more coherent than they have ever been—and yet are falling apart. And more and more Americans find less and less reason to affiliate themselves with either.

What accounts for this apparently terminal weakness in the party system? Two broad answers strike me as most persuasive, though each itself is far from being an uncaused cause. The first has to do with changes in the parties' legal environment brought about by the efforts of three generations of reformers.

The most important was the coming of the direct primary, instituted in the early years of the century and gathering momentum in each decade since then. Its effect was to deprive state and local party organizations of the power to select their own nominees for office. Even the strongest bastions of "machine" politics now have crumbled, and today not even the late Mayor Daley's heirs and assigns can dictate the outcome of a Chicago Democratic primary. The operative system throughout the nation is that ambitious candidates offer themselves to the voters on their own motion or at the behest of interest groups, and then the party is blessed or stuck with whoever emerges with the nomination.

Another triumph of the reform movement, contemporary with the spread of the direct primary, was the adoption of civil service and merit systems of public employment, stripping the parties of much of their traditional patronage and leaving them with hardly any way to reward or discipline the rank-and-file party workers. Not only that: The loss of patronage also cost parties both

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essential manpower and financial clout accumulated through the mandatory "contributions" public employees were required to make to the party organizations that got them their jobs.

A consequence at least partly attributable to these changes in the legal environment has been the shift from party-centered to candidate-centered campaigns. For one thing, in order to win your party's nomination for almost any office today you have to put together your own campaign apparatus. Having then won the nomination, you will continue to rely on your primary campaign staff to carry out the general election effort. The party organization may or may not get involved in any significant way; or even if it earnestly wishes to do so, it is unlikely to have at its disposal enough in the way of either manpower or money to make much of a difference.

Candidates meanwhile have discovered other sources of aid and nurture. Volunteer workers today flock to the candidate's, not the party's, banner. And campaign contributors, individuals as well as interest groups, by and large prefer to give money to candidates rather than parties. Nor do party leaders have anything like the near monopoly on campaign expertise they were once assumed to have. Instead, a whole new profession of people called campaign consultants has come into existence, offering services ranging from comprehensive management to direct mail, polling, telephone banks, fundraising, and the recruiting of block captains—not to mention the myriad tasks related to radio, newspaper, and television advertising.

All of which means that candidates now require nothing of the parties other than their labels. And those are won in primary contests, with the parties themselves in most cases sitting helplessly on the sidelines.

If changes in the legal environment have had a debilitating effect on party organizations, changes in the psychological environment have been positively crippling. The central fact here is the erosion of party loyalties among the American people that began not long after the end of World War II. Since 1952 at any rate we can trace three concurrent indices of erosion: the rise in the proportion of self-styled independents; the growth of independency among each newly eligible group of young voters; and the decline of partisan attachment among those who still claim to be either Democrats or Republicans.

We can look at the first of these through Gallup Poll results in 15-year increments going back to 1937. That year, 17 percent of Americans called themselves independents; in 1952, the figure was 21 percent; in 1967, 30 percent; and this year, 34 percent. So the proportion of independents has doubled in the past 45 years and risen well over a third since 1952. It is worth careful note, though, that the biggest jump in independency during these three 15-year periods was that of 1952-1967—having little if anything to do with Vietnam and nothing to do with Watergate.

Second, each new crop of young people coming into the electorate since 1952 has been less inclined toward partisanship than its predecessor. In 1952, 26 percent of the youngest group of voters called themselves independents. But by 1980 no fewer than 54 percent of the comparable group disclaimed partisan attachment. And this means that even if the trend-line were to flatten out in the future (though it gives no sign of doing so), as the older voters die off the proportion of independents overall will continue to rise.

Finally, in 1952 those who said they were *strongly* attached to one


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party or the other made up 40 percent of the voting-age population. Today fewer than 24 percent maintain that kind of allegiance. In sum, the two major parties have not only been losing partisans at an alarming rate; every indication is that this trend will continue and even accelerate. And those who do retain a party identification will do so with markedly decreased enthusiasm. All of which means that the very bedrock of political party strength—the partisan loyalty in the breasts of American voters—is crumbling away.

How much of this is attributable to the events of the past fifteen years? Certainly the Vietnam war and Watergate dealt what looked at the time to be hammerblows to Americans' confidence in their political institutions. But it would be a mistake to see those events as decisive in this connection. For one thing, as noted, each of the factors contributing to party decline originated long before 1967, and all the windy academic/news media social psychologizing we have endured for the past decade or so cannot alter that fact. For another, the proportion of the American people traumatized by Vietnam and Watergate was always far smaller than what "opinion leaders" along the *New York Times-Washington Post* axis wanted us to believe. From beginning to end, as the polls always showed, the great majority of Americans wanted victory in Vietnam. And even though President Nixon's personal popularity fell sharply during the worst days of Watergate, the level of loyalty to the Republican party stayed nearly constant throughout the mid-seventies, eroding no faster than that of the Democrats.

The most reasonable inference to be drawn from all this is that whatever deep social changes acted to cut Americans loose from their traditional party moorings before 1967 have continued to work since then. The racial and sexual revolutions, the sharp rise in educational levels, the upsurge in geographical and job mobility, the nearly incalculable impact of television on political campaign styles and perceptions—all in all they provide as much hard causality as the most exacting observer would require to account for the erosion of traditional party loyalties. The wonder of it may well be that so many of us remain so set in our political ways.

Where then are we headed? There is something close to consensus on the view that the party system of the last hundred-plus years is set inalterably on the path to extinction. Our most distinguished scholar of parties, Walter Dean Burnham, wrote in 1975 of "the astonishingly rapid dissolution of the political party" and said we are now at "a point in time at which we close a very old volume of history and open a brand new one."

And Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., writing in the *Wall Street Journal* in 1979, summoned up a vision of what the "politics without parties" of our future might look like:

> Political adventurers will roam the countryside like Chinese warlords or Iranian ayatollahs, recruiting personal armies, conducting hostilities against some rival warlords and forming alliances with others, and . . . striving to govern through ad hoc coalitions in legislatures. . . . The crumbling away of the historic parties would leave political power in America concentrated in the adventurers, in the interest groups that finance them and in the executive bureaucracy . . . Without parties, our politics would grow angrier, wilder and more irresponsible.

This may be unduly pessimistic. Yet it is certainly true that almost all the omens of the last fifteen years point to an accelerating enfeeblement of the party system: Party loyalties con-


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On the back of the one dollar bill is a Latin inscription: *annuit coeptis*. It means: be favorable to bold enterprise. Benjamin Franklin chose this motto because he believed initiative and innovation were singular characteristics of the people he helped forge into a new nation.

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The fruits of technology, like the best of art, sometimes puzzle us, oftentimes stir us, but always rivet our attention. Art and technology both present the uncommon marvel of daring and deliberation working together, each carried to its highest level.

Art and technology both reflect bold enterprise. Neither is a slave to tradition. Neither believes in change for its own sake. Neither is limited by what others believe possible. Both seek to explore the bounds of imagination.

Nearly 400 years ago, in the last half of the 16th century, Queen Elizabeth of England came upon Sir Walter Mildmay, one of her court favorites, whom she had not seen for some time. "Sir Walter," she inquired, "where have you been?" Mildmay, who had been away establishing Emanuel College at Cambridge, answered, "Madam, I have been away planting an acorn. And when it becomes an oak, God only knows *what* it will amount to."

Art, like research and development, begins as an acorn. Nurtured and irrigated, the acorn can grow to the fullest. And what the harvest brings from this effort will amount to a bold enterprise indeed.

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tinue to erode; candidates operate more and more often as free agents; economic and social policy interest groups, disdaining collaboration with the gravely weakened party organizations, play an ever larger role in both primary and general elections; bitterly divisive issues replace party identification as the principal voting cues for increasing numbers of us.

All of which suggests that, whatever the contours of our political landscape by the end of the century, the familiar American party system is not likely to be a prominent feature in it. Only now can we begin to glimpse the outlines of the old system's replacement: at its comeliest, something like the multi-party system of the French Third Republic; at its ugliest, a constantly shifting coalition of "warlords and ayatollahs." In neither case will it be conducive to the self-governing of a free people. □

# RELIGION

## CLAPTRAP CHRISTIANS

by Ellen Wilson

During the past fifteen years *The American Spectator* has been hard at work performing the role of political prophet. I do not use that word in the crystal ball-gazing sense: This magazine's predictions, like most, have been sometimes right, more often wrong. But it has more consistently fulfilled the prophet's true function, which is to point out where the world is going wrong and suggest "alternative modes of behavior." How attentively the political world has listened is another matter, although the 1980 presidential election was a heartwarming episode for any conservative prophet. Prior to that, prospects must often have seemed bleak, and it is in such bleak times that prophets must usually ply their trade.

The sixties and seventies were a bleak time for religious prophets as well, particularly those from traditional, "mainstream" Christian churches. America seemed to be rejecting large portions of traditional Christian teaching in both faith and morals. Sexual ethics were drastically revamped, church-going dropped precipitously, and the pluralism of tolerant believers changed into an "I'm OK, You're OK" relativism. Most of the nation's youth—the headline-grabbing segments of it, at least—betrayed little interest in Christianity; some heaped contempt on its adherents. Those majoring in spirituality looked East instead of West, testing this or that exotic sect of Eastern mysticism, seeking crash courses in enlightenment. Meanwhile, the press—from the newsweeklies to Sunday sections in newspapers to picture magazines like *Life* or *Look*—wrote obituaries of the family and marriage-as-we-know-it and organized religion and the rest of the baggage of traditional American life.

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*Ellen Wilson is a contributing editor of the* Human Life Review *and author of* An Even Dozen (*Human Life Press*).

It is perhaps a little hard for us to remember how bad things really were—how strong the back-against-the-wall feeling got for the true believer, how insidiously the relentless doom-saying led one to doubt, almost to despair. Today, halfway without realizing it, Christianity is regaining some of the lost ground; here and there, it has even begun to counterattack. Like the branch in the beak of Noah's dove, John Paul II's accession to the papacy has revived religious spirits, not only among Catholics, but among Protestants and Orthodox as well. Here is a good man, confident in his faith, unpoisoned by the pseudo-"existential" self-doubt which has sapped the spirits of so many twentieth-century men, religious and secular. Here is a man matured in a country only God, it seems, would not despair of. But he has not despaired—and we, it turns out, have not despaired either. After the flood there is the cleaning up to do—the shoveling of mud and carting away of debris and raising of roofs. This is what organized religion has begun to do, in more or less organized fashion, and of course the results have begun to spill over into public life. There is the emergence of the Moral Majority, the coalitions of Catholics and evangelical Protestants against abortion, the growth of alternative religious schools, and the opposition to "neutral" sex education classes, which not only "neutrally" advise youngsters on the use and procurement of contraceptives, but "neutrally" describe acts of bestiality and incest.

As yet the impetus for such reform comes mostly from the rank and file—the laity, or here and there a parish priest, a nun, a minister. And this is understandable, for in the mid-to-late sixties, when the churches in America faced their great secular challenge, it was the leadership—progressive priests and ministers, some bishops actively, others passively—that caved in. I know one church well, from the inside, and that is the Catholic Church. My memories, therefore, will be largely Catholic, and although Episcopalians or Methodists or Lutherans or Presbyterians will have their own stories to tell, there is enough common ground for reasonable generalization. I will begin with what may seem trivial, with style and matters of form. But this is where compromise with the age first made itself felt to the worshipper in the pew, and where, even now, it continues to make itself felt.

Perhaps it was the debasement of religious *style* that most confused the unbeliever, and most insidiously demoralized the believer. Those modern church buildings!—all awkward angles and exposed joints, like an adolescent suffering growing pains. Those stick-figure, stylized religious drawings mass-produced for Good News paperback Bibles, Sunday-school books, church walls, felt-decorated banners, and monthly missalettes.

And those missalettes, monthly service booklets that replaced missals in the early post-Vatican II period of almost weekly liturgical changes. How sadly their cheap paper and flimsy, dog-eared covers contrasted with an earlier generation's missals. These were presented on the watershed religious occasions: First Communion, Confirmation, or wedding. After years of use, the leather cover would be worn, the gilt edges fading, the pages distended with holy cards and memorials of the dead. But it was made to last a lifetime—as was one's faith. The modern substitute is


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cheap, impersonal, impermanent—a throwaway product of planned obsolescence.

And accompanying this, the music.

Now, traditionalists have been guilty of a certain amount of revisionist sentimentality in reconstructing great liturgical moments of the past. Their descriptions sometimes seem to imply that every pre-sixties parish duplicated the liturgical achievement of a Benedictine monastery, complete with chant and incense and full-throated, tuneful participation by the congregation. This picture is inaccurate. Catholic congregations (and there are analogues in other churches as well) are generally shy about singing, and many an Irish pastor ran a pretty Low Church parish. Still, musical parishes were there for those lucky or persistent enough to hunt them out. Congregations had their staple set of hymns, all of which sounded properly reverential and hymnlike, and faithfully expressed orthodox teaching. Their subject matter was the Trinity or the Incarnation or the Redemption or the Communion of Saints.

But many of the post-Vatican II contributions seemed to give the lie to that old chestnut of Augustine, "He who sings prays twice." Though conditions have improved since the 1968-70 lowpoint when progressive Christians exercised their vocal chords almost exclusively on antiwar songs, this has been a negative improvement. All too often, the Vietnam protest songs were replaced with psalm texts "updated" to fit current needs, or with unctuous injunctions to love-thy-neighbor (who, in these lyrics, is always black). And I fail to convey the deadening mediocrity of the music, the thudding monotony of the tunes, as far removed from the inspired simplicity of Gregorian chant as saccharine is from sugar.

The survival of Folk Masses into the 1980s is one sign of the Church's distance from full recovery: like the persistence of a low-grade fever when other symptoms of illness are abating. *Good* Folk Masses—profound, reverential, religiously moving Folk Masses—are almost impossible, musically speaking. The typical 14- to 16-year-old Church guitarist knows perhaps a half-dozen chords and traverses the distance between them uneasily. By contrast, even an amateur organist can tackle more sophisticated tunes with more uplifting results, for it is the *melody* that comes easily to an organist. The only thing that comes easily to a guitarist is rhythm.

In the heyday of liturgical experimentation, in the mid-to-late sixties, one could wander into grape-juice-and-ritz-cracker Masses "celebrated" by denimed priests ad-libbing throughout. The readings would be from contemporary saints like Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy. Today, variations on these can still be found, but they are usually confined to college campuses. What one more often finds is a halfway-house between the formality of a religious rite and the bonhomie of a block party. Priests wear vestments, but adjust the wording of the prayers to make them sound more "natural," more just-folks. Older or less trendy priests, or those exhausted by the wars, try only to get through with the least possible damage. Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy have yielded to the Bible, but a Bible presented in one of its most unlovely translations. We now read, for example, that Jesus "approved the insight of his answer," and that he "toured Galilee"—in a Greyhound bus, no doubt.

The full litany of horrors would run much longer. I could describe the inanity of many religion classes, or the reductionism of "progressive" theology. I could talk about the behavior of religious orders like the


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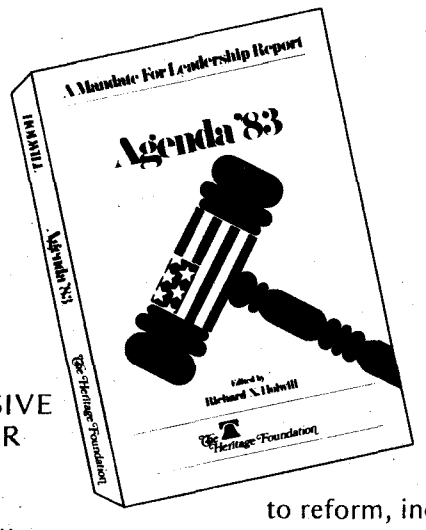


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Jesuits. I could run through parish book racks. Enough to say that, although exceptions to these horrors abound, and resistance lurks in many breasts, lay and clerical, the sixties and seventies have left a terrible legacy.

But what does all this mean to American society in general? What is it to them if Christian music, literature, art, and architecture have declined in tastefulness or intelligence or simple faith? And what has this to do with the believer, who still has to love his God, love his neighbor, and give witness to the world? Plenty. A Christianity in lock-step with the fads and current assumptions of the World is incapable of teaching the World anything; in an unfortunate role reversal, the churches became students, and the age—the silly, spoilt, adolescent age of the sixties and early seventies—became teacher (something similar of course was happening in the classrooms). Both parties suffered under this arrangement, because both were performing unnatural functions, duties for which they are not fitted.

The age to which the churches submitted themselves was liberal; hence it believed in the fundamental goodness of man, evil as an aberration, suffering as arbitrary ("Christ without the crucifixion is liberalism," said Whittaker Chambers), and orthodoxy as "stifling." One opinion was as good as the next, and the only beliefs dangerous to a pluralist society were "fanatical" ones, i.e., absolutes. These sixties and seventies beliefs spawned a War on Poverty, the Peace Corps, sociological interpretations of crime, the politics of compassion; to the extent that the established churches swallowed such beliefs, they betrayed their prophetic function. Liberalism siphoned off the churches' sense of spiritual identity and transcendental mission, short-circuited their appeals to sacrifice and claims to obedient service, preyed on their congregations' sense of being a holy people. Ecumenism foundered on the inability of large numbers of liberal Christians to discover what they really believed. The call to repentance and salvation in Christ—central to the meaning and purpose of Christianity—was largely replaced by sermons on collective guilt, and environmental explanations for individual faults and wrongdoing.

Chesterton writes somewhere that the Church is the promoter in each age of the unpopular virtue—the one that does not come "naturally" to it. In the sixties and seventies, institutional churches should have been preaching orthodoxy to pluralists; self-sacrifice to seekers of comfort and self-fulfillment; obedience to free spirits. Instead, the liberal churchmen have concentrated on "how much others have to teach us" and how "we have no monopoly on the truth" and how "we must change to meet new circumstances." But of course they are really talking about *surrendering* to circumstances, rather than meeting them as challenges. And this is to betray not only their own congregations, but also the World, which has need of the otherworldly. For if the salt loses its savor, with what shall it be salted? □

# INTELLIGENTSIA

## AMONG THE INFRALLECTUALS

by Adam Meyerson

One of the most exhilarating spectacles during the fifteen years since *The American Spectator* was founded has been watching how humbugs, charlatans, and public nuisances who once were darlings of the intelligentsia have fallen from grace or been completely forgotten.

Norman Mailer today is a universal laughingstock. Andy Warhol, among those who still remember him, is considered a crashing bore. Unread copies of Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* pile up in used book stores. And Ralph Nader reminds one of those street-corner evangelists who shout from soapboxes while the uninterested world walks on to its more productive business. Time, said a Baltimore curmudgeon, wounds all heels.

Other movements these last fifteen years have left a more lasting imprint, both on the intelligentsia and on the culture at large. The basic ideas have been accepted or at least assimilated, while the more radical and confrontational fringes have been rejected.

Feminism, for instance, has succeeded in implanting its most important idea into American public opinion: The goal of giving women the same educational and job opportunities as men is now almost universally observed in principle, if not always in practice. But the more radical branches of feminism, which were perceived as assaulting the family and distinctions between the sexes, achieved almost no influence beyond Manhattan literary salons; indeed the identification of the Equal Rights Amendment with such groups probably contributed more than anything else to its demise. Vaginal politics is out. Having babies is in, even among the most driven career women. Today's lady is perfectly willing to have doors opened for her on her way toward more money and a better job.

So, too, with environmentalism. In the main, the movement has won. Most Americans today appear to support tough laws against pollution and strict safeguards on nuclear power, even if it means a slight drop in economic growth. On the other hand, the Luddite technology-haters who want to do away with cars, pesticides, and indeed the whole modern world have disappeared with the Medfly. The consensus is for more material possessions in cleaner, safer surroundings.

Even parts of the late 1960s counterculture have been assimilated, though minus the politics. Dope-smoking dropouts have become coke-snorting real-estate brokers, but now they do it out of hedonism, not to make a political statement. The craze in house plants and gardening, while drawing on American traditions, owes something to the back-to-nature spirit of counterculture communes. Though there's probably no more sex than in the past, there's much greater flexibility about who can live openly with whom.

Within the intelligentsia, there

*Adam Meyerson, formerly managing editor of* The American Spectator, *writes editorials for the* Wall Street Journal.


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have also been some contrasting shifts of opinion over the last fifteen years. Perhaps most dramatic has been the influence of neoconservative skepticism about the limitations of domestic social policy. It is no longer assumed that "bold" new federal programs will solve the problems they are intended to solve, and there is much greater awareness that well-meaning programs such as national health insurance or rent control can impose high costs and lead to unintended side-effects. Only in the legal profession has this skepticism failed to percolate. Law professors, judges, and their allies in the media continue to advocate sweeping social policy changes by judicial fiat, with virtually no concern for the empirical consequences of their actions. As a result, school systems, mental hospitals, and prisons across the country are a wreck.

Another shift has been in the form that the intelligentsia belittles U.S. business executives. For most of the last fifteen years, the standard criticism was that U.S. businessmen were "socially irresponsible"—that, in self-interested pursuit of filthy lucre, they mistreated workers, raped the environment, and deliberately made unsafe toys, cars, and tires in order to scrimp on costs. But you can hardly accuse, say, auto manufacturers of being too obsessed with profit when they can't turn one anymore. Instead, it is fashionable today to bash American managers for taking too short-term a view of their profit opportunities—to knock them, in other words, for not being smart enough capitalists. The hostility toward businessmen is still there, but now it's directed toward demeaning their intelligence and managerial ability, not their motives.

The standard comparison, of course, is Japan, itself a change in orientation. Six or seven years ago, the country that enlightened opinion said the U.S. should learn from was China. Today egg is on the faces of all those gaga visitors who returned from China's Potemkin villages with enthusiastic stories of a happy, well-fed, unintimidated population. As Deng Xiaoping told Shirley MacLaine when she described how a Chinese nuclear physicist, sent to a rural tomato commune during the Cultural Revolution, said he was much happier on the farm than in the lab: "He lied. That was what he had to say at the time." Instead the country to learn from now is Japan. It is a much more instructive model, with much to teach, even though some of the lessons being drawn are false. The business-government cooperation so often praised by American commentators, for example, exists in Japan only in myth.

In foreign policy, the intelligentsia, especially the media, persists in its double standard of bashing unsavory regimes allied to the U.S. while naively ignoring the even less savory intentions of the movements seeking to overthrow them. The intelligentsia was wrong about Castro, wrong about the North Vietnamese, wrong about the aftermath of the Shah's downfall, wrong about the Sandinistas. It was so colossal in its misunderstanding of El Salvador that it failed to anticipate the large turnout in the election this spring. It has fulminated for weeks against a heinous massacre in Israeli-occupied Lebanon while virtually ignoring a much more heinous massacre of Syrians by their own government.

The intelligentsia has also persisted in its arrogant dismissal of the moral values of ordinary Americans. If we're talking about New Guinea cannibals or Amazon aborigines, then every effort is made to justify their moral systems as equally valid with any in the West; and sophisticated anthropological documentaries will show that primitive superstitions and beliefs in magic are actually rational responses to the world around them. But there is only mockery for the California insurance salesman who wants the biblical theory of creation taught in a social studies class. And there is no effort to understand how the excesses of the Moral Majority could be a reaction to the excesses of a secular intelligentsia that wants sex in the classroom but not God, that looked the other way when discipline broke down in the schools, and that makes fun of religious beliefs that try to make some distinction between man and other animals.

All of which suggests that there is still enough humbuggery and hot air in the intelligentsia for *The American Spectator* to be kept busy for at least another fifteen years. Let's hope many of today's charlatans are then forgotten. □

# LABOR

## THE UNION LABEL

by Arch Puddington

With the obvious exception of professional sports, probably no nongovernmental institution presents so inviting a target for armchair strategists as the labor movement. There is a long and ideologically diverse list of eminent critics convinced that they are better qualified to set the priorities for American workers than the labor leaders these workers elect as their representatives. Occasionally, the efforts to influence labor's course have graduated from theory to practice. In 1979, Ed Sadlowski achieved a degree of public visibility unprecedented for a middle-level trade union official thanks to attention lavished on him by the liberal establishment during his campaign for the Steelworkers' presidency. Indeed, the role of Sadlowski's backers became pivotal after it was revealed that the bulk of his campaign contributions came from residents of Berkeley, Cambridge, Manhattan's Upper West Side, and other areas not noted for a heavy concentration of steelworkers. After this discovery Sadlowski's momentum collapsed, and he lost badly.

This unusual (and arrogant) intervention is but a striking example of a renewed interest in labor's political and institutional future. Yet it was not so long ago that liberals and those further left were either openly hostile toward labor or dismissive of it as an institution whose time had passed. It was the benighted union officialdom, many radicals had long agreed, which posed the major impediment to a massive transformation of American society. In the 1960s, the New Left took this argument a step further. The problem was not simply union "misleaders" whose rigid conservatism prevented the working class from carrying out its preordained revolutionary mission, but the working class itself, grown fat and indolent on the fruits of capitalist exploitation and American imperialism. Influenced by the writings of C. Wright Mills and Herbert Marcuse, the New Left set about to create a substitute proletariat encompassing students and the urban underclass. According to New Left tenets, this new revolutionary force did not just exclude the working class; it would inevitably clash with this class because of the latter's crucial position within the despised American system. This prediction came all too true in 1969, when construction tradesmen battled antiwar demonstrators in New York and other cities.

As with so many other counterculture ideas, the notion of labor as marginal and reactionary inevitably worked its way into the general political consciousness. The old Roosevelt coalition of urban machines, the solid South, and blue-collar workers was now defunct, strategists like Fred Dutton intoned, and the Democratic party's future rested with a new alliance of young people, minorities, and above all else, the educated middle class—a coalition dubbed the "conscience constituency" by Michael Harrington. In George McGovern, the New Politicos had a candidate willing to put these theories to the test; a cornerstone of his presidential effort was the concept of labor's relative unimportance to the Democratic party's future.

The estrangement between labor and the Democrats did not go unnoticed by the Right. Paul Weyrich, Richard Viguerie, and other New Right ideologues advanced the idea that blue-collar workers, with or without trade union leaders, could be convinced permanently to abandon their historical loyalties to a Democratic party now under the sway of new-class elitists incurably hostile to the traditional values of patriotism, family ties, and equality of opportunity, and heedless of workers'

*Arch Puddington is executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and editor of* Workers Under Communism.



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fears over economic insecurity and slow growth. Yet when one sliced through the populist, pro-worker phrases, one discovered a contempt for labor as an institution at least equal to that expressed by the McGovernites. No less than the liberals they professed to despise, the New Right leaders proceeded on the premise that only they knew what was best for workers.

More recently, it is the Left that has reassessed its attitude toward unions. This reflects the undeniable fact that unions are, if anything, more crucial to the possibility of a re-emergent Democratic party majority than they were ten or fifteen years ago. The reason is simple enough: With the collapse of the once-mighty big-city machines, and the unanticipated impotence of the reform forces, labor has become the only power within the Democratic party capable of mobilizing hundreds of thousands of voters. Those who once denounced workers as semi-fascists are today, if they are still engaged in political work, pursuing their own electoral careers; they have learned that, where democratic politics is concerned, Marx is a more reliable guide than Marcuse.

As for the unions, their political orientation is to an increasing extent dictated by a series of new and unexpected problems. Some of these are easily enough understood. It is, for example, precisely those sectors of the economy—automobile, steel, construction—which have traditionally provided labor with its numerical, political, and organizational strength that have suffered most severely from the economic downturn.

More to the point is that American labor has never acquired the kind of general acceptance trade unions in other democratic countries have enjoyed as a matter of course for decades. While there have been periods of relative labor/business harmony, the attitudes that produced the violent industrial clashes of the 1930s have lingered on, and indeed hardened as stagnation has supplanted growth as the overriding economic reality. Nearly fifty years after enactment of the Wagner Act, the business community, or at least large and influential segments of it, continues to invest the struggle against unionism with the status of a cause. Where not so long ago labor's pragmatic and nonsocialist philosophy was credited as an important reason for the creation of the first prosperous working class in America, we are now told that "excessive" union contracts are the principal source of America's weakened competitive position in the world economy.

That businessmen don't very much care for trade unions is nothing new, nor is this phenomenon limited to the United States. But the degree of antipathy toward unions is uniquely American. And although many corporations, notably the traditional giants of heavy industry, have reached a *modus vivendi* with labor through the years, this is certainly not the case with the emerging industries of the Sun Belt. It is these newer industries that will increasingly be the focus of union organizing campaigns. And it is the businessmen who run these industries who provide President Reagan with his most enthusiastic support within the corporate world, a fact which has contributed to labor's animosity toward the Administration. His economic and social policies aside, many in the labor movement see Ronald Reagan as one who counts among his closest friends those who would prefer to see the unions here as powerless as the sham labor fronts of the Communist world.

That unions must still wage a


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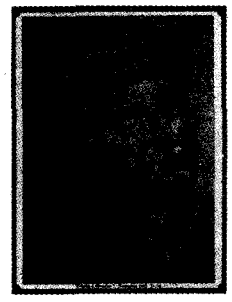

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struggle for legitimacy a century after the founding of the American Federation of Labor poses a dilemma for our democratic system. Unions not only protect the rights of workers —and we need look only to the dramatic events in Poland to understand just how seriously workers take these rights—they also provide people of relatively humble origin with the means to achieve positions of influence and respect. This is no small matter in a society where wealth and, even more significantly, education play the crucial roles in our social and political life.

There is, in addition, an international dimension to labor's role as bulwark of American democracy. Ever since the end of World War II, the unions have maintained a consistent policy of opposing Communist totalitarianism and Soviet expansionism, and, as well, right-wing authoritarianism. This policy has never wavered, even during the salad days of détente, and even though it has not endeared labor to other forces in our society. For various reasons, labor's anti-Communism has earned the scorn of the Left, the business community, and the foreign-policy Establishment. Now it is interesting to recall how these critics explained labor's persisting anti-Communist approach. The unions, it was said, supported the Cold War because of the prospect of increased employment in the armaments industry. Alternatively, American workers were said to have benefited from our imperialist domination of the Third World, and thus opposed the Soviets out of fear of surrendering the fruits of this domination. Or that labor's "knee-jerk" anti-Communism was a result of the large proportion of Roman Catholics within the rank-and-file. Today, of course, only the most obtuse Marxist sectarian would advance these arguments. The business community is clamoring for reductions in defense spending; radical Third World regimes are eagerly seeking capitalist investment; the Catholic Church is shifting from its once consistent hard-line stance.

In fact, labor's foreign policy orientation is dictated by a compelling combination of principle and self-interest. Central to labor's view is the right of workers everywhere to free trade-unions. The abrogation of these rights is perceived as a violation of the rights of fellow workers; it is also seen as an institutional and economic threat to workers in the free world. Particular attention is thus paid to the practices in Communist countries because Communism, *as a system*, rejects the very legitimacy of free trade-unions and promotes the concept of party-state hegemony over labor unions as a matter of high principle.

The Vietnam war having ended, and the image of the valiant Polish workers defying a Communist police state dominating the free world's political consciousness, criticism of labor's international perspective of necessity has been muted. Spokesmen from the "progressive camp" have been reduced to advancing the shabby argument that labor should refrain from lending any support to the Administration's military and foreign policy positions because to do otherwise is to extend aid and comfort to the enemy—that is, Reagan.

Nevertheless, it is an unwritten law that left-of-center parties and movements inevitably divide over questions of international affairs. Certainly the Democrats have not resolved their internal differences over America's future world role. The AFL-CIO's decision to become more intensely involved in Democratic affairs reflects a judicious evaluation that the party cannot revive itself without the moderating and disciplining influence of the unions. Over the short term, labor's determination to help rebuild the party has been a success; the recent midterm party conference was the most united and noncontroversial party gathering in years. Whether a long-term consensus on foreign policy issues can be realized has yet to be demonstrated.

Whatever the case, democracy's supporters can be thankful that at least one institution in American society has had the courage to withstand the opprobrium of powerful and influential critics. Had others not caved in so easily when the going was difficult, the prospects for world democracy might be notably better. □

# FINANCE

## WHO'S MINDING THE MINT?

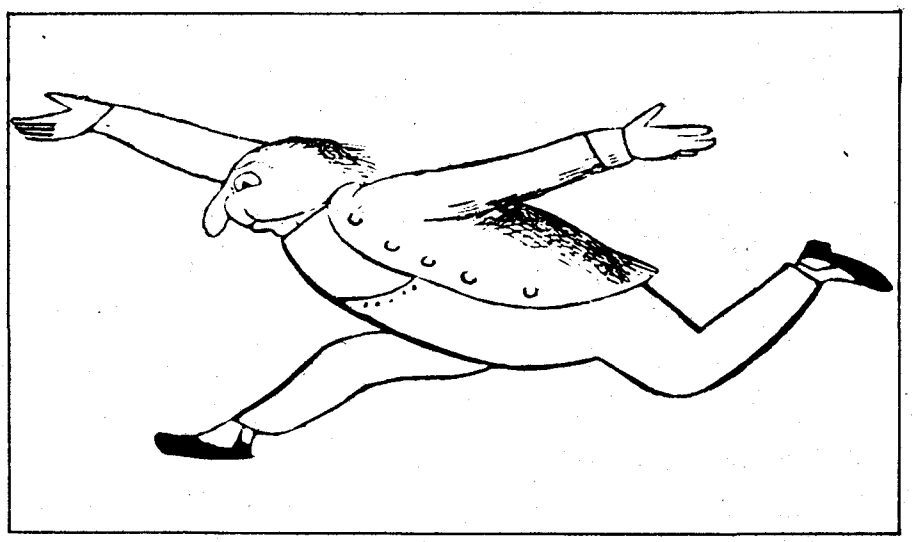
by James Grant

The tumult of the past fifteen years of American finance—the age of the Great Inflation—can be clarified with two facts. In 1967 there was $9 billion worth of hundred-dollar bills in circulation. Today there is $57 billion worth.

This is an astonishing leap. In the past decade and a half, the inflation-adjusted gross national product has risen by 46 percent and the consumer price index by 193 percent. The share of GNP appropriated by the federal government has risen from 20 percent or so to 23 percent. Yet the volume of bills with the picture of Benjamin Franklin on the front and the zeros on the corners has soared by 533 percent.

The reason for this no doubt has something to do with the prosperity of the world drug trade and with the unrest among foreigners, but surely a more fundamental cause is domestic inflation. The perennial rise of prices and incomes has thrust millions of ordinary Americans into rarefied tax brackets. Not feeling particularly rich, some of these people have unilaterally adopted lower brackets by seeking payment in large bills. For example, the tax-wise plumber who charges $150 for a new washer might entertain an offer of $100 in cold cash.

For whatever reason nowadays, the value of hundred-dollar bills in circulation is greater than the total of all currency outstanding in 1967. There are almost two-and-a-half C-notes for every man, woman, and child in the Republic, enough to be laid twice around the globe, end to end, if the wind didn't blow them away. Recently the rumor was hatched that the Treasury Department was going to print new hundred-dollar bills in yellow, declare the green ones void, offer to exchange the old for the new, and carefully take down the names and Social Security numbers of the people who came forward. A Long Island bank recently was said to have done a brisk business of breaking large bills for people who'd heard the story and wanted to be on the safe side. (Hundreds, by the way, are the largest bills currently printed. The last five-hundreds, thousands, five-thousands, and ten-thousands rolled off the presses in 1969.)



Starting in the late 1960s, the value of bills of all sizes deteriorated, which gave rise to an article of faith. It was that prices were bound to rise and the purchasing power of money to fall. It naturally followed that it was better to borrow and spend than to save, because money saved today would be worth less tomorrow.

At the time, this proposition seemed self-evident. Even before the last tenuous link of the dollar to gold was cut by President Nixon in 1971, the Federal Reserve System enjoyed

*James Grant, who writes a weekly column on the credit markets in* Barron's, *is the author of a biography of Bernard M. Baruch (forthcoming next fall from Simon and Schuster).*



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a pretty free hand. The closing of the gold window (as the move was called) amounted to a gift of monetary Lebensraum. Thereafter the Fed was free to create as much credit as it deemed prudent, or necessary, or thought it could get away with. Generally, the amount that it did print was in excess of the amount demanded for the noninflationary conduct of business. On average, for example, one year to the next in the 1970s, the Fed expanded the volume of credit by 9 percent, or more than twice as fast as the rate of inflation-adjusted economic growth.

What was bound to happen did. Sensing that the shelf life of money was approaching that of fresh bread, people rushed to exchange dollars for things. (Not only was more money printed during this time but also people spent and invested what they had more nimbly. In 1967, for example, the average checking account in a New York City bank was emptied and refilled 130 times a year. Last spring, the annual rate of turnover, thanks to new technology as well as to inflation, had jumped to 1,300 times. The numbers scarcely seem credible, but there they are.) Real estate and the "collectibles" markets boomed and an inflationary hedonism was born. Pan American Airways coined a slogan: "Live Today. Tomorrow it will cost more."

Inevitably, people, governments, and businesses were led to borrow. In the United States the public debt staged a fifteen-year rise from $343 billion to more than $1 trillion. Corporations, forsaking the equity market, took out loans. Altogether, a New York stockbroker explained, the world went short of the dollar. Everywhere people borrowed with the one thought that money would be cheaper and more plentiful at repayment time than it had been when they'd gone into debt.

Back in 1967, when the Treasury paid an average of only 4.5 percent on the public debt (as compared to 11.5 percent today) and the prime rate was 6 percent (vs. 13 percent), the cost of funds was considered outlandishly high. And it was. Yields on high-grade corporate bonds, according to the historian Sidney Homer, were higher than they had been since 1920. In June 1967, when the Illinois Bell Telephone Co. issued long-term bonds at the then-startling rate of 6 percent, I was sure (I had been a clerk on Wall Street for four months) that nothing like it would be seen again. In a way I was right—in September 1981, the Indiana Bell Telephone Co. was issuing bonds at 17 percent and the United States Treasury was paying more than 14 percent. (Fending off the Confederacy, the Union had raised money for less than 6 percent.) In 1967, the cost of servicing the public debt amounted to $14.5 billion. Recently the cost approached the annual rate of $124 billion, a sum larger than the federal budget for any year prior to 1965.

On Wall Street a sense of foreboding came over the market in the late 1960s, a time when the brokers themselves were so engorged with paperwork that the New York Stock Exchange had to be closed for a succession of Wednesdays in order to give the clerks a chance to catch up with the salesmen. The 1970s began inauspiciously: On April 22, 1970—Earth Day—H. Ross Perot, a Texas computer entrepreneur, lost $450 million in the shares of his own company, Electronic Data Systems. In 1971 the nation was treated to two firsts: a $200 billion federal budget (the $100 billion mark had been cleared in 1962) and peacetime price controls. In 1973 there was the Arab oil embargo. By 1974, the stock market, by one measure, had fallen by about 70 percent from its heights


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of the Go-Go year of 1968. In 1975 came the first $300 billion budget. In 1977 trading began in contracts for future delivery of Treasury bonds, thereby placing the solemn obligations of the United States government on a speculative par with pork bellies, plywood, and soybean meal. (Last fall the Chicago Board of Trade unveiled a master creation for this time of financial volatility: an options contract on Treasury-bond futures.) Also in 1977 came the first $400 billion budget. In 1979 gold bullion hit $300 an ounce, having scraped $104 in the summer of 1976. On January 23, 1980, it momentarily reached $875, thereby validating one of the most audacious financial forecasts ever made, namely, that the gold price would one day exceed the Dow Jones Industrial Average. (The prophet was James Dines who had long since been ignored by respectable analysts.)

The year 1980 brought credit controls, recession, and the first $500 billion budget; 1981, another recession (and the first $600 billion budget); 1982, an epidemic of corporate bankruptcies, still more recession, and numerous debt "reschedulings" by sovereign borrowers, which, so Walter Wriston, chairman of Citicorp, recently assured the readers of the *New York Times*, can't go broke (and the first $700 billion budget). Then, in the summer, after passage of what was described as the largest tax increase in history, the stock market vaulted by 150 points. To put that feat in perspective, however, the Dow Jones Industrial Average at this writing stands at roughly 940, which is where it was fifteen years ago.

Through the 1970s, as noted, people got into debt. At last report they were trying to get out. □

# PROFESSIONAL SPORTS

## THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SPORTS EMPIRE

by Robert Nisbet

During the past fifteen years we have seen in American professional sports what Gibbon saw in second-century imperial Rome: zenith of prosperity but also the sharp signs of beginning decline. In this period we have seen professional sports industrialized, computerized, specialized, politicized, and egregiously over-publicized. Only with the greatest difficulty can individual heroes breathe and prosper in such an atmosphere. And therein lies the greatest harm done to this country by the boundlessly self-aggrandizing owners and players. For any nation in this century needs all the heroes it can get for its pantheon. Old sources have dried up in too many cases.

Business as such has never been a fertile bed for heroes. Whatever the regard for the Croesuses, Fuggers, Rothschilds, Morgans, and Rockefellers in Western history, it was the very opposite of hero-regard. Henry Ford, Sr. is the closest to hero in popular adulation in his time. He was unique. Politics and war are old seedbeds of heroes, but both have become desiccate under the sterilizing influences of bureaucracy, mechanization, and, in the case of the former, judicial imperialism that sucks the very marrow out of elective politics. There will be no more Lincolns, Teddy Roosevelts, and Woodrow Wilsons in American politics. The presidency has already ceased to be individual, as it was down through FDR, and has become corporate, composed literally of hundreds of White House bureaucrats rivaling such hopelessly unfecund areas as State, Defense, and HHS. It is probably good to have a professional actor in the White House every so often; he can add at least hero-luster.

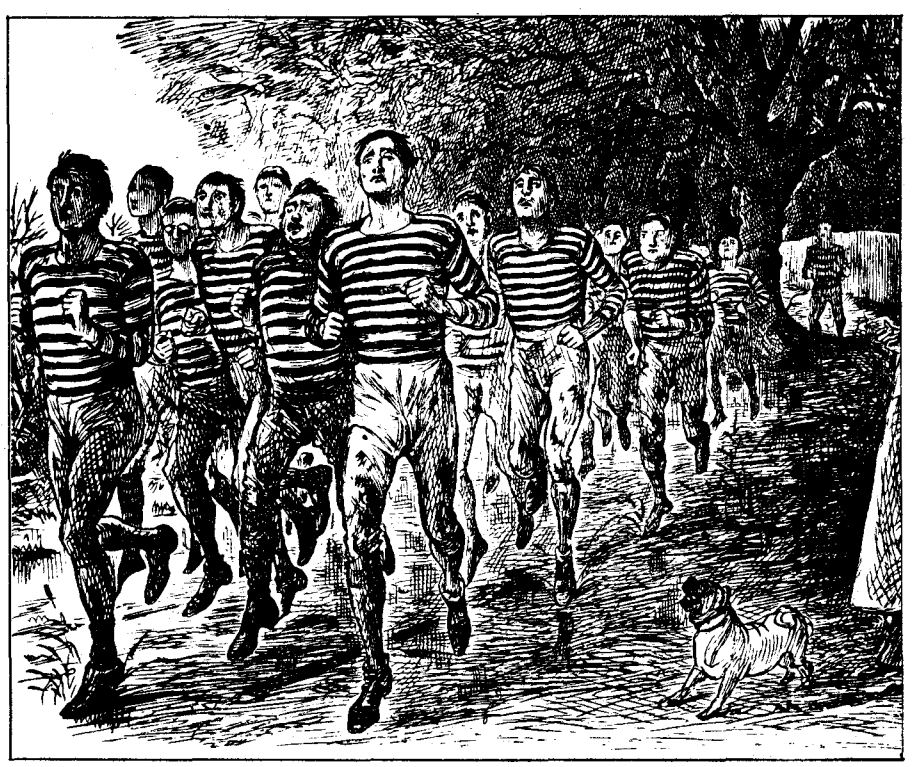
The military is no better in this respect. It is highly unlikely that there will be any more Pattons, MacArthurs, and Eisenhowers. Even leaving nuclear war to one side, the conditions of war, at least for large nations, are antagonistic to emergence of heroes. Again, the triumph of committees, councils, and staffs over soldiers. Desert I in Iran might have produced heroes, but it has instead become one more symbol of the nonheroic, forever associated with the Joint Chiefs.

Nor can we look any longer to the republic of letters, arts, and sciences. It is almost inconceivable that we shall have another Thomas Edison and Albert Einstein in our midst, each a household name. The structure of science today discourages individual achievement; teams and task forces are the thing. Once such eminences as Longfellow, Lowell, Mark Twain, William James, William Lyon Phelps, and H. L. Mencken were authentic heroes, household names. Today it is better to go to the dry-cleaning industry for heroes than to the writers of our books.

Behold Hollywood. Where are the Swansons, Chaplins, Garbos, and Gables? Gone. Succeeded by jerks, monsters, and robots. The thought of Streisand, Redford, and Eastwood walking where once walked the great and the mighty is enough to bring on the black bile. The only stars today are supplied by imitation galaxies.

We are thus down to, and fast losing, the world of sports as the spawning bed of heroes in America. And what heroes we have had! Beginning with the legendary John L. Sullivan at the turn of the century, there have been many heroes in boxing, baseball, football, tennis, golf, and, recently, basketball and hockey. The golden age of sports heroes is the 1920s—comparable in its way with the Age of Pericles—when Dempsey, Ruth, Cobb, Grange, Tilden, Rockne, and Bobby Jones were veritable demigods. Each was what the Greeks called a culture-hero, that is, a creator or bringer and bestower. Each made his sport national in the popular mind, created followings and fans, and forged a whole new body of symbols in American culture. There had never been a million-dollar gate before Dempsey. He generated five of them, and there wouldn't be another until Joe Louis. We look in virtual awe today at any baseball player who can hit .300 (the live ball, mind you) for two or three years running. Ty Cobb led the major leagues twelve years in a row and his lifetime batting average was .367. In addition, he set extant records in the field and on the bases. There are more people today who recognize instantly the names and heroic achievements of Ruth, Dempsey, and Grange than the more recent DiMaggio, Ali, and Unitas. Such are the rewards of being first and at exactly the right historical moment.

Sports heroes assuredly didn't die with the twenties. There were some luminescent stars afterward to be worshipped: Hubbell, DiMaggio, Williams, Joe Louis, Baugh, Huff, Brown, Hull, Howe, Cousy, Russell, and others, not forgetting Budge in tennis and Palmer in golf. Any of



*Robert Nisbet is Adjunct Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and author, most recently, of* Prejudices: A Philosophical Dictionary *(Harvard University Press).*



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these, and there are others, could have held their own, been very close to the titans of the twenties. Sports, although changing considerably in the period 1930-1960, were still pretty much the same in structure, mass, and chemistry with followers during these decades. But we have seen, since 1960, some quantum changes in all aspects of sports which are slowly choking off the possibility of heroes, indeed of widespread interest much longer in sports.

In the first place we are saturated today with the sheer volume of players, teams, leagues, divisions, and franchises. Seasons steadily become longer, overlapping egregiously in their length. Playoffs multiply exponentially, as do tournaments and matches in tennis and golf. One can acquire a sense of infinity by the playoffs of basketball alone. It is difficult to repress a shudder at the thought of some of the cities which have been brought into big-time sports. Can anyone imagine an authentic hero being born and nurtured in Tampa Bay and Anaheim? Television is of course the single greatest cause of this, its malign effects becoming all too vivid in the sixties. It has nearly killed boxing through overexposure and it now threatens, with its round-the-calendar games, plays, and replays, to destroy other sports as well. We are in a mass age out of which heroes cannot emerge.

Second, the individual player threatens to become lost in the chaos of specialization, especially in professional football. He has become an appendage to the machine, a victim of narrowness of function. The game has been broken down into assembly-line operations, each as small and repetitive as possible, with each player trained tirelessly to meet the specifications of that tiny specialization and no other. Thus, paraphrasing Tocqueville, the game advances but the player recedes. Without doubt any of today's major college and professional teams could defeat fairly easily any of the greatest teams of earlier decades—but through means which do no honor to the individuals involved.

The great players of yore in football played sixty minutes, offense and defense; each came close to being an all-purpose player. Nagurski was as good at fullback as at tackle. Quarterbacks played with the rest of the players, calling plays, passing, running, and blocking on offense, often punting and drop kicking, and were almost always at safety on defense. It is simply presumptuous to compare today's quarterbacks with those of old. What do they do? Take the snap, hand off or else dart back, guarded by several behemoths, in order to get rid of the ball as quickly as possible, pumping, pumping *ad nauseam.* The luxury of free substitution today gives just about all players anywhere from 25 to 55 minutes rest on the bench during the game. Imagine Nevers and Grange resting. Nor should we neglect the powerful role of the computer in recruitment, development of player, and in the calling of plays. Hero-computers?

Things are still somewhat better in these respects in baseball. At least free substitution, with its promise of a batting team and a separate fielding team, hasn't yet been adopted, though I am inclined to think that under the competitive pressure of football and the boundless greed of owners, something along this line will have been developed before the end of the century. The Designated Hitter is perhaps the first step. Bullpens become ever larger and more highly paid. An individual who does nothing but occasionally relieve starters can reach several hundred thousand dollars a year. It is a rare starter who today isn't being helped to the showers by the fifth inning. And we dare compare pitchers of today with the Mathewsons, Johnsons, and Dizzy Deans of the past.

We have known all along that professional sports are at bottom business enterprises, but that residual fact was kept well in the background for a long time. No one complained when in 1922 Justice Holmes declared major league baseball a sport, not a business, and in truth it was far more sport than business. But all of that changed drastically and irreversibly in the 1960s. The marks of aggressive, cut-throat, profit-greedy business enterprise became increasingly evident to the world, stimulated in large degree by television's desire to conquer the sports world with its schedule-breaking, aggrandizing, and eventually overwhelming demands—all made with carrot as well as stick.

Since the late 1960s all of the stigmata of industrial assembly line and marketplace—and much else—are in full view, diminishing the individual player, the sports hero, relentlessly. More and more sports


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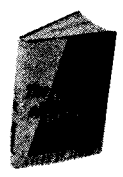

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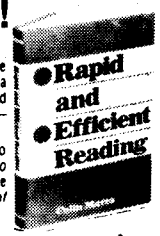


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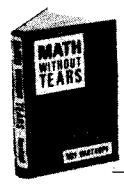


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sections in the newspapers are filled with stories of contracts, contract-violations, reserve clauses, free agents, astronomical salaries, strikes, lockouts, industrial morale stories about the Yankees and other teams, cocaine-sniffing, exploits of the Steinbrenners and Finleys, and so on.

The salaries alone will, on a little more fan reflection, come close to killing sports. What do we get for million-dollar salaries? For the most part Reggie Jacksons, cavorting clumsily in the outfield, hitting a bare .290 at best, and belting two or three dozen home runs, usually late, a season. Compare Jackson's relatively pathetic (but always arrogant) performance with the play of Babe Ruth and Hank Greenberg, of Cobb, Hornsby, and Ted Williams. They not only gave stellar performances year after year that Jackson doesn't come close to, they made them look easy. There aren't more than a handful of the obscenely paid luminaries of Anaheim, Kansas City, San Diego, and Milwaukee who would have made any of the great Yankee, Pirate, and Cardinal teams of the twenties and thirties. Occasionally a record of one of the titans is broken: Babe Ruth's 60 by Roger Maris's 61. But only with the help of a significantly longer season and in conjunction with general outfield performance that the Babe would have been ashamed of. Moreover, Maris made it only by virtue of one mighty gasp, so to speak. Babe Ruth hit anywhere from 50 to 60 homers each of a dozen years. Before that he set records as a pitcher for the Red Sox, among them that of pitching 29 2/3 consecutive scoreless innings of World Series baseball (1916, 1918). He was prouder of his pitching records than anything else in his extraordinary career.

On the reasonable theory that nature distributes her genetic talents fairly evenly through the decades, we may assume that there are natural Ruths, Cobbs, Deans, and Williamses out there now in the ballparks. Why, then, are we obliged to become awe-struck when someone hits .301 for two or three successive years or winds up with a 15-6 pitching record—with ample assistance from the multi-million-dollar bullpen? Is this really the best we can now hope for? The answer is yes and is rooted in the psychology of the assembly line and the marketplace. The Ruths and Cobbs thought of little besides baseball; the Jacksons and Winfields little besides contracts.

Still another destructive force coming out of the 1960s in sports is the same judicial imperialism that has damaged much of the political process and free private enterprise in America. Given the industrialization of sports, it was perhaps inevitable that the courts would see fit to invade what was once an enclave of autonomy and self-government. How long can NFL self-rule continue when a California court declares that long-established NFL regulations notwithstanding, the free-booting Al Davis can rob the city of Oakland by taking his Raiders to Los Angeles? Once when hockey players got too vicious with their sticks, they were rewarded with their own medicine; now an injured hockey player takes his wounds to a court of law and receives a million


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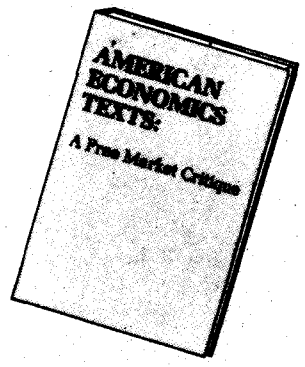


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dollars in damages. It will not be long before the outcomes of Superbowl and World Series games are held up until some federal judge rules on a contested game-decision. As the judiciary has weakened the walls of family and local community, so it now weakens the walls of sports in America. Again we ask, how can a sports hero emerge out of tawdry litigation?

Since true heroism is beyond any performer's reach in our politicized, industrialized, computerized, and hyper-publicized sports world today, what can be offered the public? I suggest something along the lines of Hollywood's Oscar night, staged at the Los Angeles Coliseum and televised throughout the world. Special awards (Ruthies, Grangies?) for each and all of the vast multitude of specializations, assembly-line techniques, and marketplace piracies, with the parade of noseguards and designated hitters all weeping their gratitude before camera and through tears thanking Mom and the agent who made it all possible. □

# ACADEMIA

## AFTER THE DEBAUCH

by Kenneth S. Lynn

As Mr. Dooley observed long ago, America is more given to rapid change than any other nation on earth—with the result that if you take a close look at the Republic at fifty-year intervals you will find that it has hardly changed at all. In the case of higher education, one could argue that Mr. Dooley's fifty-year cycles of recurrence should be considerably shortened. A mere fifteen years after the sweeping curricular changes with which college and university faculties bought peace in their time, those same faculties are busily engaged in an attempt to restore some semblance of the status quo ante.

In the insanely individualistic years when "doing your own thing" was the watchword of young people, students won the right to tailor their courses of study to fit their own perception of their needs. Today, more and more colleges are demanding that students take a universally prescribed "core curriculum." Another innovation of the liberationist sixties, the "pass-fail" grade, has likewise been largely replaced by the old system of letter grades—and no one has been more pleased by this reactionary move than the students themselves, who are aware how important good grades are in landing an interesting job or in gaining admission to a professional school. As for foreign-language requirements, they have come back from the very edge of extinction and are once again being enforced.

Yet at the same time that the colleges and universities have been trying to wipe out the legacy of yesteryear they have also been unable to escape it. The proliferation of courses in ethnic studies and women's studies continues unabated, and indeed in many places whole departments have been organized around these pseudo-subjects. Examining the course catalogue, however, hardly begins to suggest the weaknesses that have been built into our system of higher education in the last decade and a half. For what the catalogue does not record is that when turmoil came to the campuses in the late sixties, the quality of applicants to graduate schools of arts and sciences at once began to go down, and that as the real income of professors was eaten into by the inflation of the 1970s the nation's most gifted undergraduates turned away from teaching careers in ever increasing numbers.

In addition to having second-rate intellects, the typical graduate students of the 1970s clung tightly to the revolutionary attitudes of their undergraduate days. Now that these veterans of the Harvard bust, the battle of Morningside Heights, and a hundred other confrontations have received their Ph.D.'s and entered full-time teaching, they have begun to take over the colleges and universities of this country by more subtle means than they formerly employed. In the field of history, for example, Marxism is by all odds the most fashionable mode of analysis among teachers of European history, while in American history more and more of the current scholarship is consecrated to the expression of contempt for the achievements of our civilization. The erstwhile occupiers of deans' offices have also been in the forefront of the effort to destroy meaningful standards of promotion by urging the rapid advancement of black professors and women professors regardless of the quality of their scholarly work. And the blacks and women who have been professionally rewarded on the basis of their race or sex have in turn been in the forefront of the movement to discredit the official values of the American people.

Thus while there are grounds for believing that Ronald Reagan has succeeded in shifting the entire nation rightward, Democrats as well as Republicans, the generalization certainly does not apply to the academic world, nor is it likely to in the years ahead. Indeed, the leftist professors of my acquaintance have lately become more intransigent than ever, for with the drying up of public funds for educational purposes they have found it easy to think of themselves as the victims of a brutal and uncaring society, and there is nothing that makes the anti-Americanism of academia grow faster than the tears of self-pity.

The desire, in short, to impose stiffer standards of performance upon the students coexists in the minds of contemporary professors with the desire to identify themselves with the flabbiest of radical causes. What this country needs is a revolution in the streets, Professor Sheldon Wolin wrote in *democracy* in the summer of 1981, but in the absence of such a blessed event he would continue to speak out on political and cultural issues. Fifteen years down the road from the campus violence of the late sixties, a curious combination of fundamentalism and leftism sets the academic tone. □

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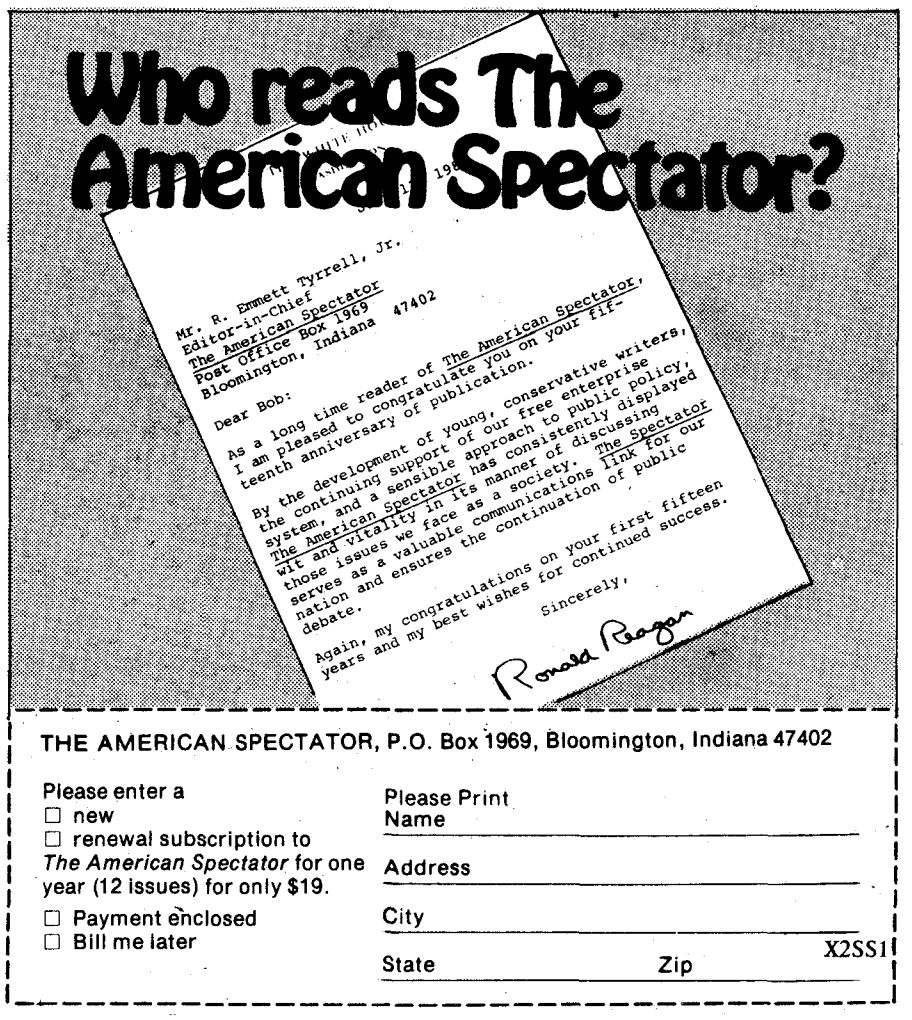
*Kenneth S. Lynn teaches American history at the Johns Hopkins University and is the author of books on Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, and other American writers.*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# WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

**A Symposium.**

*Now that the above writers have set us straight on the glories that have overtaken the Republic since* The American Spectator's *arrival, I have asked the following writers for some thoughts on where we and our conservative President should go from here. So as to verify my claim regarding* The American Spectator's *diverse origins, I have asked these writers to begin if possible by sketching the political positions they held fifteen years ago.* —*RET*

ROBERT ASAHINA

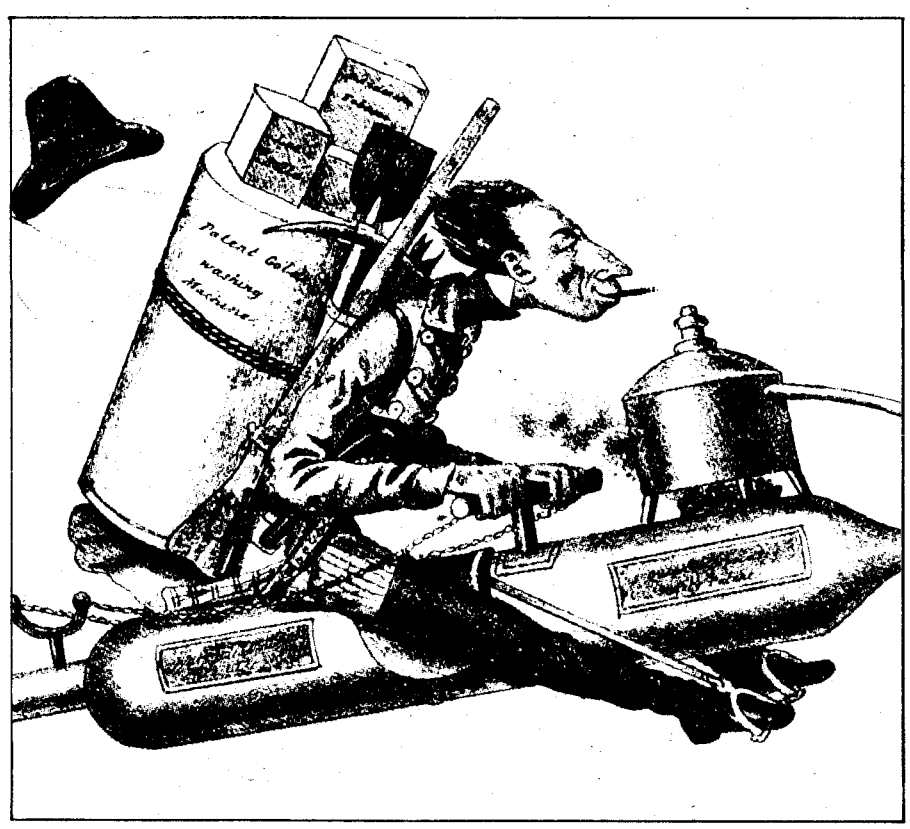
It's always tempting to think that the most historical change (which, depending on your point of view, has been either the most baneful or the most beneficial) has taken place during the most recent period—whenever that was. And the past fifteen years certainly saw its share of ups and downs: at home, the rise and fall of the New Left and the counterculture, the crumbling of the Great Society, the growth of the women's movement, the unfolding of the Watergate follies, the decline of the Northeast, the onset and persistence of stagflation; abroad, the peak of the Vietnam war and then its protracted and painful winding down and aftermath, the "opening" of China, the decline of the dollar, the ascension of OPEC, the rising and falling fortunes of Israel, the resurgence of Soviet military activity, the threat of nuclear war.

But it's easy to forget that the fifteen years before 1967, often regarded by conservatives as the golden age of postwar prosperity, likewise experienced severe disruptions (for better or worse): the baby boom, McCarthyism, the space race, the expansion of higher education, the spread of suburbanization, the emergence of a national culture through the rise of TV and the completion of the interstate highway system, the pill and the "sexual revolution," the civil rights movement, the growth of the welfare state, the race riots and assassinations, at home; the Cold War, the hot war in Korea, the Suez crisis, the Hungarian revolution, the Cuban missile crisis, the Bay of Pigs, the escalation of the Vietnam war, abroad.

What does this incomplete list of accidents, disasters, good fortune, bad luck, political mishaps, and cultural crises tell us? Perhaps nothing more than the truism that change is the only constant in history. During the next fifteen years, conservatives and neoconservatives should remember as well that no one can legitimately take credit for all the good while disowning all the bad.

Throughout its history, readers of *The American Spectator* have been reminded of the limitations of government policy. But these are limitations of a conservative as well as of a liberal administration. Conservatives are constantly chiding liberals for simultaneously favoring less restrictive social, and more restrictive economic, measures; liberals make the reverse charge against conservatives. Yet it's clear that Americans often want to have it both ways: less regulation, economic and social, of things they support, more of things they don't. No one ever said the populace had to be consistent—or lacking in self-interest.

In this regard, the preoccupation of the Reagan Administration (and, to some extent, of conservatives and neoconservatives in general) with the agenda of the so-called New Right seems ill-advised. Raising the specter of, say, the "death of the family" or the "threat" of homosexual teachers as though these were simply matters to be dealt with by government policy is both absurd and self-defeating. If the neoconservative critique of utopian expectations of government has taught us anything, it is (or should be) that such social issues figure more prominently in symbolic than in practical politics. Does anyone actually believe that gay teachers are able (or even have it in their minds) to persuade a significant number of hormone-crazed adolescent boys *not* to chase girls—any more than straight teachers can (or have to) talk them into straight sex? Or that outlawing gay teachers would do anything but drive them (back) into the closet?




I suggest this mental test: If the entire New Right social agenda—anti-homosexual, anti-abortion, anti-sex-education statutes, school-prayer guarantees, the death penalty—could be implemented, but only at the cost of, say, government control of industry or Defense Department cutbacks, would the tradeoff be worth it? What really are the ten or twenty conservative priorities? Surely not the two dozen or so murderers on death rows across the country who would be executed instead of serving life sentences. It could be that conservatives can take a moralistic high road on these matters only because liberals have taken a rationalistic low road (as in the endless futile debate about when life begins—at conception, after three months, at birth), or only because conservatives don't yet have to be responsible for the unanticipated consequences of legislation arising from their moralism. But moralism in politics, so disdained by conservatives when practiced by the New Left, is no less opprobrious when practiced by the New Right.

If the President could start the economy moving again at home and restore some sense of national purpose and legitimate self-interest abroad, social issues would probably disappear as political problems. Yet because most economic and many foreign policy questions are baffling to conservatives and liberals alike (are differences regarding, say, overseas economic sanctions genuinely political in nature?), symboli politics has once again taken on an exaggerated importance in public affairs (and certainly in media coverage of them). Mr. Reagan would do well to remember, however, that the next fifteen years, like the previous fifteen, will be full of the unexpected. Meanwhile, for conservatives to try to legislate abortion rights out of existence or school prayer back into the classroom, after complaining on



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principled grounds that they were illegitimately created or expelled in the first place, is to confuse the political crest with the massive wave of social change. It simply makes conservatives and neoconservatives look like reactionaries, and does nothing to advance their legitimate political aims.

*Robert Asahina is an editor of* Harper's.

ARAM BAKSHIAN, JR.

Fifteen years ago I was a promising 23-year-old critic and congressional aide, blissfully unaware of the existence of this august journal. Life was full of promise. Five years later, all that changed. Working in the Nixon White House as a speechwriter, I was approached by a rather rum character who introduced himself as R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. and invited me to become a contributor to what was then called *The Alternative.* I have been one ever since, but that isn't the only rut I'm stuck in. A decade later, I'm back in the White House writing presidential speeches. Is there no hope?

As for my views, I have always been a free-market, conservative Republican with a strong belief in the importance of moral and cultural underpinnings in any society worth living in, which I suppose also makes me a traditionalist. I believe that what Ronald Reagan has managed to pull together is a combination of (a) the traditional Republican vote from the bulk of both party wings; (b) sane and awakened members of the intelligentsia whose numbers are negligible but whose insights and influence are important; and (c) large chunks of the old "working class" Democratic coalition that are now culturally and economically conservative and middle class. Assorted loud, single-issue constituencies have played an important but distinctly secondary role in this realignment. They deserve to be heeded and treated fairly, but they are not at the heart of the overall realignment I believe is taking place.

My own views have changed very little, but then I had already reached the age of reason in 1967—if the statisticians are to be believed. I have always had my doubts about this.

*Aram Bakshian, Jr. is Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Speechwriting at the White House.*

FRED BARNES

Back in 1967, my wife and I locked arms, marched across Memorial Bridge, and surged with a mob of thousands toward the Pentagon. The building was supposed to levitate, given the moral strength of the antiwar movement. But it didn't rise an inch. Or so I thought at the time. Looking back, I'd say the antiwar crusade did have the effect of levitating the Pentagon quite a bit (figuratively, of course) and of making victory in Vietnam politically impossible. What a mistake; I wish I hadn't marched.

The war in Vietnam was the central event of the post-1945 era; and it's nice to see a revisionist view of it emerging. But it's one thing to say that the American effort was, as Ronald Reagan put it, "a noble cause," and another to act on that. Vietnam is gone, and little can be done to change that, even with the most conservative, anti-Communist President this country is likely ever to see in the White House. Given public opinion that flits between hawkishness and dovishness and the need to get along with queasy European allies, a President doesn't have that much latitude in foreign affairs; I hate to say it, but it's true. His best shot now is to stand firmly in El Salvador. If that sounds like containment, so be it. If established Communism is to collapse in the Soviet Union and its satellites, American foreign policy won't be the catalyst; Communism will fall of its own immorality, cruelty, and economic inefficiency. The day approaches.

At home, Reagan had better stop acting like a *New Yorker* caricature of a conservative. People really don't cotton to the fact that their President, even an amiable one, likes to hang around with the Lear-jet crowd. The President needs a new set of friends. More important, it would be nice if he figured out what has happened to his economic program, namely that it's been savagely undercut by rapid monetarism at the Federal Reserve. Tax cuts are fine, but you've got to have enough dough in the system for a supply-side revolution to take hold. Liberal economists and conservatives now pilloried as "supply-side extremists" happen to have been right on this point. Fed chairman Paul Volcker eased up before the election, but he may resume the monetary crunch after the voting. If Reagan allows that, look out.

*Fred Barnes is National Political Reporter for the* Baltimore Sun.

MARTHA BAYLES

Looking back over the last fifteen years, I find myself wondering why I never became a feminist. As a Radcliffe student interested in poetry, I was well situated. Friends encouraged me to read Sylvia Plath and explore my own oppression. The trouble was, I found her husband Ted Hughes a better poet. And although I was not above claiming oppression for myself, on the whole I considered other things more important.

The issue for me in the sixties was not really the war, and certainly not feminism. It was race. I graduated in 1970 and began teaching in a city school, trying zealously to overcome racial prejudice in all its forms. When busing came to Boston, I began to part company with my sixties cohort, who appeared increasingly to know nothing about the situation of ordinary black people—or white people, for that matter—living in the same city. I wondered how they could possibly be so oblivious, and feminism turned out to be part of the answer.

Boston was about to fly apart, and too many educated women were parading around expressing the great gut feeling of their movement: that


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The prospect of declaring Poland's $27 billion debt to the West in default is a trifle disturbing. That's a lot of money just heaved down the Communist cesspool. **But the prospect is there. Unless you want our hard-earned taxpayer dollars to bail out the Soviet puppet regime.**

But not all is lost. There is one responsible organization in Poland that doesn't want to borrow what it can't pay back. It **is existing without the support of Western banks and government giveaways, and giving a lot more to the West** without such help.

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love and marriage was a machine to destroy their identity. Their agonies reminded me of my junior high students, terrified at 13. I wondered where all these women had been at 13, when the big battle is supposed to occur between the tomboys and the cheerleaders—while on another part of the playground, the boys play hardball.

To me the feminists had failed to grow up: They were still worrying about how turning into a woman was going to take all the fun out of life. It seemed self-indulgent to fuss about such an adolescent problem when real adolescents all around them were about to go through a tangible hell.

Today I see men and women my age clinging to feminism as a way of retaining that old sixties worldview without actually viewing the world. Their finicky concern for sexual equality allows them to invest their self-centeredness with political significance. It also keeps alive the incredibly tiresome conviction that the sixties generation is more perceptive about social and political matters than people who grew up in dull, boring decades like the thirties, the forties, the fifties—or even the seventies.

I mention the seventies because the college students I now teach have been well indoctrinated into feminism. Yet in spite of this, and in spite of not being able to predict which way they will go politically, I do find one encouraging sign. On the whole, they appear to consider other things more important.

*Martha Bayles is film critic of* The American Spectator.

A. LAWRENCE CHICKERING

At the end of the sixties, while trying to be ideologically mischievous in my job at *National Review*, I was fortunate to be rescued from my squishy *New York Times* liberalism by some radical black intellectuals with whom I had become friendly. They helped me see the value of emphasizing social and psychological independence for minorities—a view shared by conservatives and libertarians.

Reagan's leverage to press major policy changes will be limited for the rest of his term, so he should concentrate on educating the country to a new public philosophy and idealism. The race issue is an excellent predicate to promote a decentralist and genuinely pluralistic vision—encouraging a social tolerance that is impossible so long as social policy is aimed at making everyone above average in income, status, and reading scores.

On race especially, small policy reforms could make an important difference. Nothing would disturb the ideological idiom more than replacing publicly provided services with contracts or vouchers. Most important would be substituting vouchers for the current legal services program. In other words, stop paying white radical poverty lawyers to take clients away from the indigenous, private minority bar. The current system is emasculating the natural minority leadership class and permanently radicalizing all minority groups. By substituting vouchers or contracts for social services, a combination market-political patronage system could permanently change our political landscape.

After a rocky first year, coherence and calm seems to be emerging in the Administration's foreign policy. But although the strident first-year rhetoric is finished, positive articulation of a clear global strategy, including defense needs, will be critical to avoid further defense cuts. The Reagan Mideast proposals should become "talking points" as opportunities multiply through competition between Hussein/Arafat and (less openly) Begin/Assad for Washington's attention and future reservations at Camp David.

On the economy the President should pay close attention to monetary policy and should take care to appoint people to the Fed who can be decisively influential. Excessively tight monetary policy over much of last year sabotaged the President's program—causing a far deeper recession than necessary, lasting longer. It could happen again, as pressures to undo the damage lead to extreme policy in the other direction.

Although controlling the budget is obviously critical, political obstacles will be great until after the 1984 election. I would go for flamboyantly bipartisan reforms (cuts) in social security, avoiding the disastrous partisan wrangle of last year, which aborted a significant beginning of reform. The politics of encouraging long-term economic reform has suffered from the President's serious overselling of supply-side economics. The disincentives to save (double taxes on corporate equity income, taxes on nominal, not real, capital gains, etc.) are still great and were very imperfectly corrected by last year's tax program. The prospect of future, increased inflation under President Kennedy maintains incentives to save through real estate, fine arts, and comic books, rather than in more traditional, productive ways. Restoring long-term growth depends on reducing the tax-burden on saving, a burden which is high in relation to our trading partners. Over time, we should move in the direction of a flat tax on consumption, and remove saving from the tax base altogether.

The next two years will be a holding period, waiting for the economy to pick up. Our burden outside is to keep up the pressure, and don't expect that those inside will ever satisfy us. Our unhappiness is an important part of the political context within which they must act. If the time comes when those inside and out seem to be enjoying a *rapprochement*, only two possibilities can explain it: Either we are going soft, or they are abandoning their policy responsibility, under difficult institutional and political circumstances, to do the best they can by our values.

*A. Lawrence Chickering is executive director of the Institute for Contemporary Studies.*

TERRY EASTLAND

Fifteen years ago, as a freshman at Vanderbilt, I was elected class representative to the student body government. I found campus politics boring, however, and despite the tumult of the times, was not much interested in national politics. Even so, I was a conservative, not yet by reflection but in my bones.

Politics became an immediate concern after Vanderbilt, while I was

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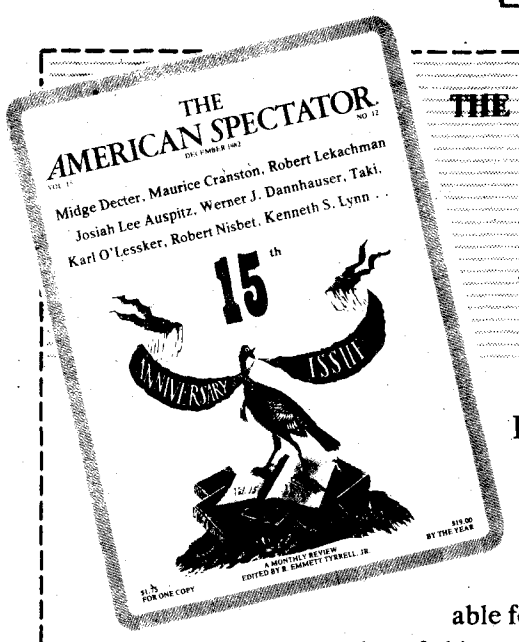


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studying further at Oxford, as the way in which I had been brought up began to clash conspicuously with the way the world was going. Socialism was in vogue, as was self-indulgence and, worst of all, a skepticism about truth and life that easily turned into cynicism. Inevitably, I found myself not merely feeling but arguing against these things. And soon enough, I was writing for *The American Spectator*.

Where do we go from here? Certainly the economy must revive if the Reagan Administration is to survive past 1984. But that is only the business at hand. More important for the long run is properly understanding liberty and virtue. These have been the two principal values of American society, and there is a natural tension between them that can never be eliminated, nor would I want it to be. But today the need for virtue in a democratic republic is underappreciated, and the nature of liberty is misunderstood. Too many people—including almost all Democrats and most country-club Republicans—are not interested in the question of what kind of people, having what kind of character, our society is now producing. And too many people—including, again, the same groups—believe that our society is good to the degree it simply facilitates and maximizes individual liberty.

It is relatively easy to elect a conservative President; it is much harder to effect change in a culture. And it is the culture—and the country—that is ultimately at stake. The task ahead is principally one for educators, intellectuals, and writers, including, I hope, those who contribute to *The American Spectator* as it observes the next fifteen years.

*Terry Eastland is editor of the* Virginian-Pilot *of Norfolk, Virginia.*

## ERICH EICHMAN

In 1967 I was taken up unpolitically with the preoccupations common to adolescents in the middle of a social revolution. By 1970 I had seen the political expressions of that revolution firsthand, in Madison, Wisconsin, my home and the university's. I had discovered that one way of resisting the moral pressures of the middle class without relinquishing its comforts was by finding "authoritarianism" in its social conventions and by adopting a style offensive to its habits of appearance without indulging in the more pernicious forms of rebellion: drugs, sex, and radical politics. This was, I admit, a fairly ridiculous form of hypocrisy—imagine going down to campus after high school to watch tear-gas canisters being thrown around and returning home to a good dinner—but its effect was to check me against the excesses of the time and to leave me open to the forces of virtue as expressed later in, say, *The American Spectator*. It helped, too, that "the movement" eventually played itself out for me in the form of graduate students in English at a state university, people you would rather die than have to talk to: affluent and anti-bourgeois, academically ambitious and anti-intellectual, sanctimonious and immoral. In short, people of a character "the movement" was likely to produce once its countercultural style had been abandoned as a fashion and taken up as a way of life.

That is a political education short on politics, but then there are choices that are pre-political (mine were then). They have more to do with the attractions of style and the appeal of one sensibility over another than with the force (intellectual or otherwise) of ideology. Style and sensibility can imply political ideas of the profoundest sort—they did in the 1960s—but they derive in part from different principles of discrimination, mostly social and aesthetic, principles in which conservatives are notorious for finding signs of decadence


# Is Lower Back Pain Making You An On-Again, Off-Again Cripple?

*by Eugene Griffin*

**Read how one man freed himself from this crippling pain.**

It happened aboard a Lufthansa flight to Frankfurt, Germany where I was going for a business meeting. The plane hit an air pocket and suddenly my back "went out."

If you've ever suffered from lower back pain, you know what this can mean. In my case, the stewardess *had to lead me off the plane* when we landed. "This is the first time this has happened?" she asked. When I told her no, she said:

**"Oh, then you should have a Prosana Belt."** She then told me she had lower back trouble, too, and without the Prosana Belt, she didn't think she could hold her job. "It practically saved my life!" she went on.

I'll be sure to get one, I told her. But what I was really thinking was how could a belt that helped her—a woman about 110 pounds—help a slightly overweight guy of six feet like me? Besides, I thought, I've tried practically everything short of an operation. So I went to my hotel room, took a hot bath, several aspirin and laid down for the night hoping for the best.

**Couldn't get out of bed**

The next morning the pain was worse than I could ever remember. *I had to roll out of bed onto my knees and crawl to a doorknob to get to my feet.* Again, I took a hot bath and some aspirin, but again, it didn't do much good. If I had been back home, I would have called and canceled the meeting. But here I was in Germany and scheduled for a meeting with five other businessmen *I* had set up. So there was nothing I could do but go through with it.

**Lunch Included, Too!**

The pain must have been apparent the moment I walked into the room because the first man I met smiled sympathetically and said, "You look like your back is bothering you." It is, I answered. "Haven't you heard of the Prosana Belt? he asked. I nodded yes. "And you don't *have* one?" he persisted. No, I said, continuing around the room, anxious only to get the meeting over with and go back home.

After the meeting, the man who asked me about the Prosana Belt suggested I join him for lunch. Since he was the key man on the deal, I accepted. But instead of driving me to the restaurant, he took me first to a surgical supply store where he bought me a Prosana Belt. I had no other choice but to put it on right there, though all I could think of after thanking him was to say, Is that it?

"That's it," he replied. "Now let us take a little walk to a nearby restaurant I know you'll enjoy."

**The Most Amazing Walk Of My Life**

If I had known the "little walk" was going to take almost a half hour, I never would have gone—business deal or no. But that was all part of his plan! Because by the time we reached the restaurant, *my pain was gone!* I even reached down and touched my shoelaces just to see if I wasn't imagining things. I can't believe it, I said. It's like a miracle. "Yes, I know," he answered, "I said the same thing when I first wore the Prosana Belt. Occasionally," he added, "I still say it, although any troublesome condition or pain that persists should be brought to the attention of your doctor."

**Tested & Proved In Hospitals**

Over lunch my friend proceeded to tell me about the Prosana Belt. How it was invented by a doctor, tested and proved in hospitals and clinics; even on people so crippled with lower back pain, they had to wear steel braces! How it was, and is, used throughout Europe by tennis champions, Olympic bobsled medalists, soccer players—by all kinds of people who are constantly putting incredible strains and stresses on their backs. In fact, he concluded, its effectiveness has been so proven, *its purchase is included under Germany's national health coverage plan.*

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When I returned home, I told all my friends with bad backs about this marvelous belt. But when they tried to buy one, they found no one in the United States had even heard of it! So, I called my friend in Germany (incidentally, I got that order) and told him I'd like to import some Prosana Belts. He told me the cost of one *in Germany* was $44.00 in American money. Since I would have shipping costs, taxes, handling and so forth, I decided to see if I could make a special bulk importing deal with the manufacturer. And, I'm happy to add, I was able to. Yes, you can now try the Prosana Belt for only $29.95—$14.00 less than what you would pay in Germany. What's more...

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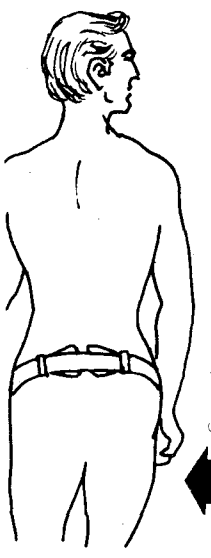

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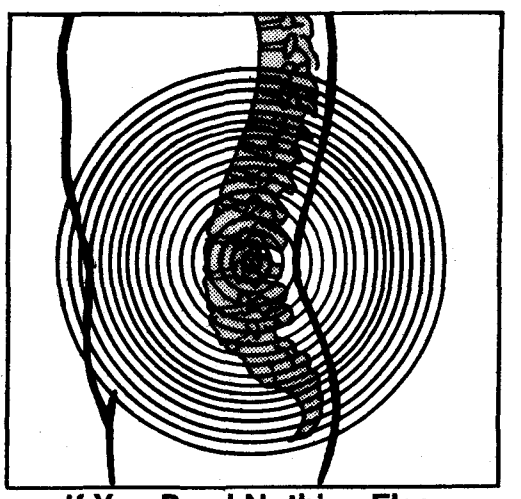

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"I've turned from my initial skepticism, indeed rejection of the Prosana belt, to an eager proponent of it. I now have checked more than 40 cases from my practice and after studying a file with more than 100 statements, I have no doubts about the effectiveness of the belt." Dr. Ludwig Hecht

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and triviality. Well, there is good reason for suspicion—contemporary culture, especially in its "progressive" variety, can look both empty and evil—but the suspicion should stop short of making conservatives what they so often appear to be: squares in popular culture, philistines in high culture.

A good deal of moral earnestness has been rightly expended by conservatives in an effort to push against the lies about America perpetrated by the Left in the 1960s and carried into the culture since. Moral earnestness of that sort is never really misspent, but it is deadeningly misapplied if carried over into the side of life where style holds sway, the side of life where the counterculture made its strongest appeal. That, it seems to me, is what we conservatives have done, and we should cut it out or we will continue to consign the pre-political part of our culture—a big part—to the wrong side, the Left. To give up on style out of scrupulousness is to confuse being moral with being serious, and being serious with being interesting. Sometimes aptness resides in forms of contradiction at odds with strictly linear moral codes dear to conservatives and with the principles of taste derived from them. There may be a kind of virtue in showing irony in the face of evil, in finding value in forms of social behavior that can't be done in horn-rimmed glasses, in not flinching at the harsh sounds and the non-ethical energies of high culture.

*Erich Eichman, formerly managing editor of* The American Spectator, *is managing editor of the* New Criterion.


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### CHARLES HORNER

It was *fourteen* years ago. I was a student in Taiwan and Hubert Humphrey had just delivered a speech in Salt Lake City. Humphrey sought to close the rift in his own party by capitulating to its left wing. The dominant ethos among the Democrats was thus established. This program, though called "liberal," had little to do with the liberalism of Presidents Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson—especially in foreign affairs. One has to appreciate the long history of left-wing sectarianism to understand why the authentic liberals came to be called neoconservatives and why their wholly correct line could be nothing other than support for Ronald Reagan.

But the novel fact is that the political energy which propelled Ronald Reagan into the White House originated elsewhere. It originated in a different political sociology and in a different experience of American life. Ostensibly, the "sagebrush rebellion" and the intellectual rebellion which made *Commentary* the nation's preeminent journal of opinion seemed to have little in common. Yet the architects of these and other uprisings came to know each other; their unanticipated affinity created a potent political force.

But it is doubtful that a political figure other than the President could have given real life to this merger. The two groups, who now delight in being *declassé* among the "right people," require a certain kind of leader. And Ronald Reagan, neither apologetic nor defensive about his own convictions, could liberate the rest of us. As a political creed, therefore, "Reaganism" has a special and, so far, a charmed character; it still seems inseparable from the man himself.

Our Editor has asked us to ponder where we go from here, and two questions come to mind. The first is whether the President's political handiwork, given the latent tensions within his coalition, can nonetheless become a new tradition of its own. The second and, ultimately, the more important is whether Reaganism—a powerful political fact of life—can, in appropriate forms, come to be represented in our culture-at-large. For we sense that many of our institutions—the arts, the media, the academic communities—seek to place powerful restraints on the Reagan presidency. Practically, they are an important limiting factor, for our political processes invariably respond to their discipline. Indeed, in the final analysis, it is the condition of our culture and not that of our political institutions which will determine what we can achieve. And the necessary "cultural revolution" is barely astirring.

*Charles Horner is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Science and Technology.*

### ROGER KAPLAN

You ask: What has been happening in the past fifteen years or so? And what's next? What next, men? Why, whatever comes next. We'll be ready.

That, I think, is the real contribution of the cultural phenomenon represented by *The American Spectator* as a major intellectual force in American letters. For what has happened is this: The tower of ideas has been used by American conservatives. Those who deal in ideas, in turn, or significant numbers of them at any rate, have acknowledged fully the role of conservatives and their programs in American politics.

Of course: There were conservative intellectuals before the late 1960s; and there were conservative politicians who were well disposed toward ideas. Nevertheless, it is in the past fifteen years or so that an effective alliance between them was forged. For that much *The American Spectator* surely deserves some of the credit; for that much, well done!

It has, to be sure, become apparent in the past two years that conservative politicians as much as any others are interested in ideas chiefly for their campaign-slogan value. This should not have come as a surprise and it should not be a cause for despair.

The task for *The American Spectator* remains the same as ever. It is to continue to propagate, wittily and forcefully, the ideas we believe in and the description of reality that it believes to be true. The past fifteen years or so (this time span is somewhat arbitrary) have taught us that our ideas are strong, our wits fast. That is why I believe we are ready. And that is why I, for one, relish the thought that there is nothing, really nothing, more worthwhile than the life of letters.

*Roger Kaplan is a writer living in New York City.*

### WILLIAM KRISTOL

"Where do we go from here?" our Editor asks.

Two years into the Reagan Administration, it is tempting to answer, "What do you mean 'we,' white man?" But this would be irresponsible—we are all in this together—and in any case unconvincing. So let me take as my text not Tonto but Lincoln: "If we would first know *where* we are, and *whither* we are tending, we could then better judge *what* to do, and *how* to do it."

Where are we? When *The American Spectator* was founded fifteen years ago, American liberalism had just achieved its greatest victories, and seemed to stand at the peak of its power and prestige. Yet astute observers could see that the appearance of health and vigor was deceptive, like the flush on the cheek of a consumptive. Unlike the death of Violetta, however, liberalism's subsequent decline was swift, and not pretty. Even *The American Spectator*


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has had difficulty doing justice to the undignified whining, the hypocritical moralizing, and the feckless irresponsibility of American liberalism in this past decade and a half.

What of this fall's fashion, neoliberalism? Michael Scully has commented that if neoconservatives are liberals who have been mugged by reality, neoliberals are liberals who have been mugged by reality and refuse to press charges. Or have they simply been mugged by political expediency? In any event, it is possible that the better management of ill-founded programs and the more sober pursuit of ignoble ends are the way we are tending. But it seems to me unlikely. I suspect the future holds for us the prospect of a more fundamental break with our immediate past—for better or worse.

What to do? Follow the counsel of Edmund Burke: "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle." Bad men—or misguided men—combined long ago. The good—or at least the better—tended to associate at first largely in self-defense, and in order to conserve what was under assault. Now they need to associate not simply in order to conserve, but in order to rebuild and, where necessary, to build anew the institutions and habits of a free society.

How to do this? Through associations like *The American Spectator*. Political associations are important, of course, but just as important are what Tocqueville calls civil associations, including educational, intellectual, moral, and civic associations. Journals are a crucial form of civil association: Tocqueville says that "it would underrate their importance to think they only serve to guarantee liberty; they maintain civilization." Unfortunately, slightly more is required to maintain civilization than the flourishing of *The American Spectator*. But every bit helps, and in any case to associate under its banner for the sake of educating one another and fighting the good fight is, to a considerable degree, its own reward.

*William Kristol is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania.*

MARK LILLA

Fifteen years ago, while the Editor of this lofty periodical and his henchmen were preparing for their first assault on the taste and good breeding of Hoosier coeds, I was just beginning sixth grade at Ridgewood Elementary School in Warren, Michigan. If an eleven-year-old can be said to have any politics at all, I suppose I was somewhat liberal, if only because that seemed the only non-Neanderthal alternative. Warren was one of those charming blue-collar Detroit suburbs where unwelcomed black families were apt to find their homes torched, where men proved their mettle by the redness of their necks. In a place like that who *wouldn't* want to call himself a liberal? Besides, we were the only family on the block that read *Time*; we were intellectuals.

American liberalism thrived in the early 1960s for precisely this reason: It seemed the only intellectually respectable position. There never was a real choice between liberalism and conservatism (or neoconservatism) in Warren; it was reason against barbarism. Little did I know that while I was working on grade school book reports some renegade college students in southern Indiana were working on another *Alternative*.

By the time I got to college, a startling transformation had taken place: Liberals no longer seemed so respectable. They had become glum people, prone to moralistic outrage over minor matters (*whales*?); they were closed-minded, narrow, even unintellectual. About this time I happened across a copy of *The Alternative* (a.k.a., *The American Spectator*) in a college lounge. I laughed. I laughed some more. I couldn't stop laughing, and was asked to leave. When I finally settled down to read the more serious articles I found them perfectly sensible, and then started reading *Commentary* and the *Public Interest*—I was hooked. If intelligence, reason, and good humor had found a new home, I decided I would move in with them.

"Where we go from here" depends on where we think we've been over the past fifteen years. Some would say we have been through a "battle" between liberalism and its alternatives. I think we have been through a period in which politics played a disproportionately large part in American life, to the detriment of our politics, culture, and private lives. *That's* barbarism, and the people I have admired most in this magazine are those who kept their hats on through it all.

I find it rather sad, then, whenever I see conservative friends overwrought by this or that policy of the current Administration (which, let the record show, I think is doing as well as can be expected). People who used to laugh at Carter's vacuous moralism are very somber now: They talk about tax cuts and throw-weight. They don't realize that they've won, that American politics is boring now—*and that's the way it should be*! Pick up a novel, I want to say, pour yourself a drink, and relax.

If this magazine and its writers have represented any party over the past fifteen years it is the Party of Proportion and Humor. I propose that we reelect this party for another fifteen years, no matter who is in public office. And while we read our newspapers and write our articles, let us keep the party motto ever in mind: Take the long view and tell better jokes.

*Mark Lilla is executive editor of the* Public Interest.

WLADYSLAW PLESZCZYNSKI

In the early fall of 1967 I would spend a few hours each afternoon lying on a hillside behind the Spanish cinder-block student union at the University


**Here's what educators privately know—but hesitate to tell you—about your child's school**

- **that massive "busing" has not been worth the price we're paying for it.**
- **that millions are being spent on students who haven't a prayer of earning a college degree.**
- **that striking teachers set an example that leads young people into lawlessness.**
- **that efforts to achieve quality *and* equality in education may be wreaking havoc upon our system.**
- **that innovation can create more problems than it solves.**

**"Educators, in the privacy of their own thoughts as citizens and parents, will concur with more of what is in this book than they will admit publicly," says Theodore M. Black.**

At last, here's an educator who's not afraid to tell it like it is, who's willing to own up to what's really going on in our schools today, to name names as he cites our "crimes against education": that government funding has led hundreds of students into fraud and cheating, that taxing real property is absolutely the wrong way to finance education, that a liberal coalition has set out to destroy private schools, that much desegregation research is virtually worthless, that colleges are basing their investment decisions on misguided moral judgments.

For eleven years, from 1969 to 1980, Theodore M. Black served on the New York State Board of Regents, the oldest and most powerful school board in the country. For the last five years he was Chancellor, often taking unconventional stands on the controversial issues of those turbulent times.

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of California at Santa Barbara, listening to guest lecturers Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton (or one of their emissaries) and watching mallards come in for electrifying landings in the Isla Vista slough a few yards from the speaker's podium. For several days a few months later North Hall's computer center fell to occupiers who renamed it Malcolm X Hall. Thanks to the efforts of English professors Swander and Silverstein, the occupiers received "suspended suspensions" from the local chancellor. The incident was not forgotten, and a year later a girl in my philosophy class nominated Malcolm X as the greatest philosopher of this century. In those days Ronald Reagan kept far away from Santa Barbara.

Although fifteen years may not amount to a drop in heaven, here in our part of the earth a few things have changed since then. For one thing, I no longer waste my days in the Santa Barbara sun which on the other hand President Reagan can now enjoy with impunity. Yet I am reminded that the President's ranch is located in mountains that also serve as the site of Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden's progressive dude ranch. The battle lines haven't really changed, have they.

What now? I am reminded as well of Edmund Wilson's warning to Vladimir Nabokov regarding California: "You know, it is like getting into Yeats's fairyland or under the Venusberg. The weather is fine every day, and the rest of the world seems very unreal." Whether in economic, demographic, or figurative terms, California has continued to bewitch our nation, blinding its moral vision, dementing its youth, and unnerving its leadership. It has been responsible for turning the American dream into one of life as an endless vacation, and in its malevolent view of the rest of the U.S. it has been behind America's well-developed sense of self-denigration. The Washington press corps will scoff at the simplicity of my formula, but I would contend that the fate of the Reagan presidency will hinge on the extent to which the President remembers that he is a Midwesterner, and not a Californian.

*Wladyslaw Pleszczynski is managing editor of* The American Spectator.

ANDY STARK

Fifteen years ago, I was in the fifth grade at a "free school" in Vancouver, Canada modeled after A. F. Neill's famed "Summerhill." There, we were encouraged to learn at our own rates, and so in the fifth grade I was doing twelfth-grade math but did not know how to write. We were encouraged to question everything, and I recall leading a student revolt against the number system, in which we wrote our own laws of mathematics. Need I say that parents and teachers looked on all this bursting, beaming, raining prideful phrases—"From me, this!" or "Kenahorah!"—down to our little ears. To be a child at a free school in one of the most bucolic cities in the world during the 1960s was to be the hope of the future. It was a burden and responsibility I took seriously, pausing often to mull it over as I struggled with my calculus, the difficulty of which had increased appreciably since my decision to take a stand against the laws of subtraction and multiplication. A few miles away, on the well-heeled martini slopes of North Vancouver, Margaret Trudeau was beginning the first, tentative gropings toward puberty. It was a historic time and place.

How dizzyingly far we have come from those days, the gestation period of the modern social security system, student loans, the nuclear freeze and pacifism, affirmative action, feminist consciousness. In short, as Ronald Reagan announced when he took the presidency in order officially to put a hold on all that, for fifteen years or so, the nation had been squandering its moral capital and mortgaging its future. Those are felicitous phrases, and they carry a great deal of truth.

And yet dimly, I recall that those who designed the modern social security system believed themselves to be paying a return to those who provided us our moral capital, not mortgaging the future. The student loan program was advocated as a solid investment in an exciting age to come; no one suggested it was an extravagant, short-sighted waste of funds. Did not affirmative action begin, not as an abasement of a common moral currency, but as the redemption of a moral debt which had long been in arrears? Even feminists and advocates of nuclear freezes told us they were doing what they did for their sons and daughters; to protect their fathers' investment, and to carry on the fight of their mothers. However misguided, counterproductive, or even disastrous were some of these policies, the best liberals never lost sight of the past or the future. And of course, much squandering and mortgaging did go on, hidden behind all those noble liberal motives, hidden even to liberals themselves. But the plausibility of those noble motives is reason enough to be on guard that some squandering and mortgaging of a different sort does not go on now behind President Reagan's equally noble motives.

Where do we go from here? Where we have unfailingly gone—to guard the past and be trustees for the future. No matter who is in office, one can always find employment in that line of work.

*Andy Stark is Cambridge editor of* The American Spectator.

TAKI

A funny thing happened on my way to cover the Greek elections fifteen years ago. A bunch of colonels pulled off a bloodless coup because—as their superiors, the Greek establishment, and even Konstantin Karamanlis from his exile in Paris had been repeating *ad nauseam*—there was danger of a Communist takeover if George Papandreou (father of the present Greek ayatollah) was elected.

To say I was overjoyed at the colonels' power grab would be a gross understatement. I was ecstatic. Having had the bad luck to live through the Greek "civil war" of 1944-1947 and to witness what Communists do to people who disagree with them, I knew the red menace should be of concern not only to rednecks who move their lips when they read.

When the West's intellectuals and media began writing about the horrors of life under the colonels, I felt a bit like the great Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn must feel today. I could not believe the extent of Western naiveté; or, worse, the extent of Soviet disinformation among us. The colonels were simple, unworldly peasants with the mistaken belief that good intentions, a faith in God and country, and a censored press could turn a country around. That they failed miserably seven years after the coup was not surprising; nor did it alter my conservative beliefs. Greece and her political leaders needed some time off. The pre-coup corruption, the bribery among deputies and ministers, the yellowness of the press, none of this worried foreign observers. The abolition of a corrupt parliament did. Without wanting to, the colonels helped bring some kind of sanity to Greek politics. The democratic process is no longer taken for granted. It is rather like the excesses of the sixties having ensured a Republican revival in America.

Where I was once pessimistic only about Greece, today I am pessimistic about the entire free world. Why? That's easy: the free world's media. People who themselves would never choose to live under Communism defend Communists against democrats and conservatives in places like Portugal, Italy, even Greece. They applaud regimes resting on force in Vietnam, Cambodia, Angola, Nicaragua, and Cuba. They see Pinochet as a monster but forget what a monster Allende was. They excuse the bloodiest ideology ever invented by man by insisting upon the shortcomings of capitalism. The Soviets are allowed to engineer coup after coup and pour money into subversive activities against the West, but to point this out is to be branded a McCarthyite. If during the McCarthy days someone had predicted that within twenty years both Africa and Southeast Asia would be under Communist control he would have been considered insane.

As I am neither insane nor a trendy à la Galbraith, Schlesinger, and the rest of the Kennedy apologists, fifteen years after my aborted election coverage in the birthplace of selective democracy I have moved even farther right from where I once stood, to become an even colder warrior.

*Taki Theodoracopulos is the European editor of* The American Spectator.


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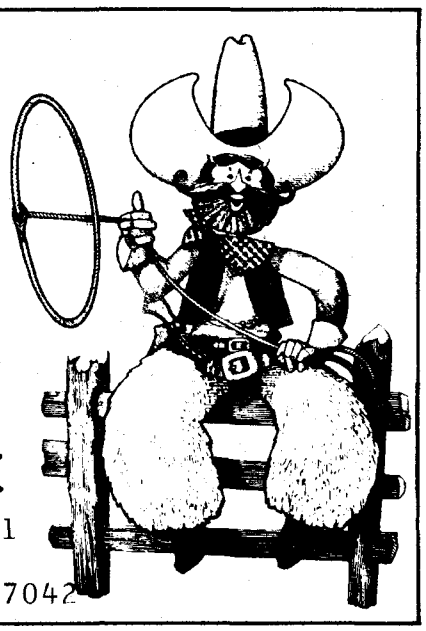




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CAPITOL IDEAS

(continued from page 6)

make a difference. For example, they could bring some order and control to the disorderly and chaotic free market—which was mythical anyway, don't forget that. Sure there was wealth and prosperity, thanks to an almost ecologically perfect 65-foot layer of topsoil bequeathed to us by the Indians, who Respected Their Environment. All that energy and chaotic activity could be tamed, rationalized, diverted into more productive uses (not that anyone was suggesting central planning) and so there could be even more wealth than was left us by the Indians.

Oh, how the potentially baronial class wanted to get control over the lives of the peasants and serfs! How intolerable it was that all those ticky-tackies in places like Omaha and Shreveport were rushing about making things without permission, and then, in the evening, eating *in perfect contentment* at places like Roy Rogers and Burger King! The potential elites, with all their wisdom, their training, knowledge, ability, and background, felt like princesses—but with no ball to attend. When you came right down to it, all they had was the vote, just one vote, just like everyone else.

The greatness of America and the American system has been that for many years the stout picket fence circumscribing government held firmly in place. The intellectuals kept prying at the boards, but mostly they would do little more than tear their fingernails. Then—along about the time I arrived in the United States—the power of government began to expand dramatically. I suppose the day came when all those people in gowns and mortar boards pouring out of colleges all over the country eventually achieved a critical mass of sorts. At that moment the Supreme Court, and more generally the federal judiciary, which until that time had used its power to constrain the outward thrust of government, suddenly turned around and *ordered* it to expand.

It is said, falsely, that we live "in a conservative era," and that the country "is moving to the Right." In fact, since I came here at least, it has moved steadily to the Left and although that movement has been slowed it shows no real sign of stopping. (The business about a 'conservative era" really means that he leftward legislative and judicial rift has been attained even though a najority of the people strongly disapprove of what has gone on.) There has been, alas, a tremendous shift of power from the periphery to the center, from the people to the government, an increase in the power to coerce, in the number of things that must be done, and a sharp reduction in the number that can be done.

The new baronial class won't give up this newly acquired power easily. And the serfs became prosperous so they don't have that much fight in them these days. Their sons and daughters apply for baron-status. The welfare-recipient class, in unwitting alliance with the barons, has no fight in it at all. President Reagan gave the new elites a scare, because they knew he wasn't one of them and for a while it looked as though he just might wrest power away from them and repair the picket fence. It now looks as though he definitely failed in the attempt. Next on the agenda: neoliberalism, new industrial policy, government and business in partnership, policy of cooperation, not confrontation. Lots more things will be illegal. And by the time that's all in place, we'll have the kind of country I had no doubt thought should exist on the day I stepped off the boat. Answered prayers! Sometimes I'm afraid my early missionary work may have paid off! □


# No More Free Ride... For Union Officials.

Thanks to Harry Beck, American workers no longer have to support unwanted candidates or undesired political causes to keep their jobs.

Harry, who was born and grew up in LaPlata, Maryland, has worked for the telephone company for 20 years. He once belonged to the Communications Workers of America union, but resigned "because the CWA was totally impersonal to anyone except those at the top."

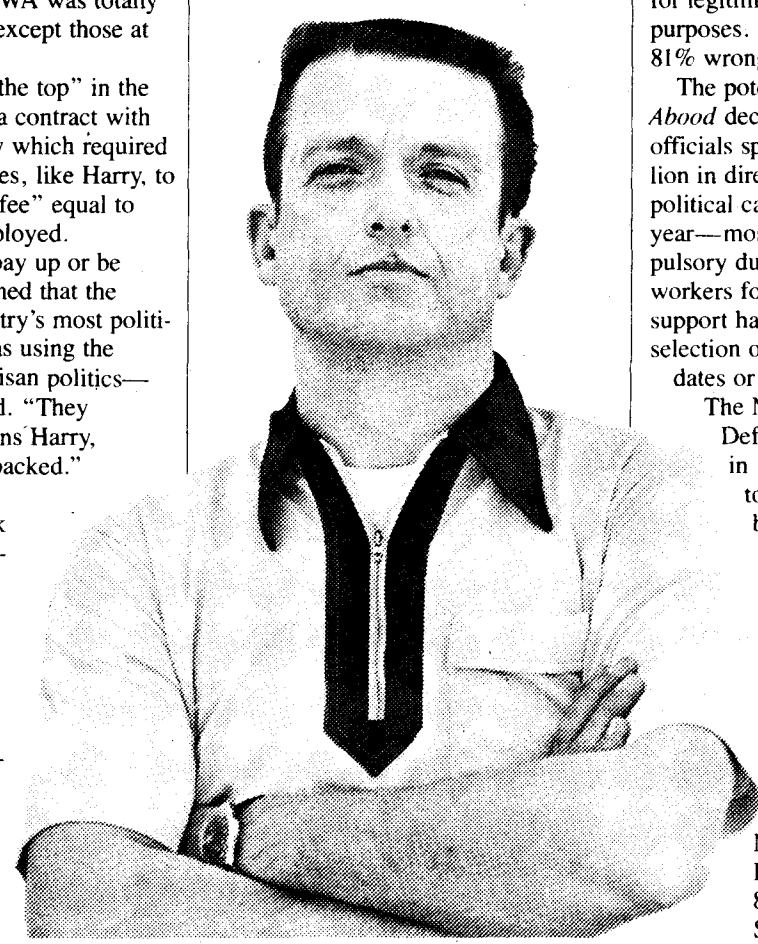
However, "those at the top" in the union then negotiated a contract with the telephone company which required all non-union employees, like Harry, to pay CWA an "agency fee" equal to union dues to stay employed.

Harry Beck had to pay up or be fired. But then he learned that the CWA, one of the country's most politically active unions, was using the "agency fees" for partisan politics—and that made him mad. "They backed people," explains Harry, "I just wouldn't have backed."

With the help of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, suit was brought against the CWA union by Harry and 19 other telephone company workers. And on March 16, 1979, in an historic decision, a Federal court ruled that a union's collecting or spending of compulsory fees for any purpose other than collective bargaining violates the Constitutional rights of employees who object.

It was the first time that a Federal court had declared that union political spending from mandatory "agency fees" is an infringement upon the rights to free speech and association enjoyed by private sector workers.

Similar protection was established for public employees in 1978 in the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education*—another case supported by the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation.



The Beck case acquired added significance in August 1980 when a Special Master, appointed by the court, found that the CWA had spent only 19% of the union's total dues income for legitimate collective bargaining purposes. He recommended that the 81% wrongly spent be refunded.

The potential impact of the *Beck* and *Abood* decisions is enormous. Union officials spend an estimated $100 million in direct and "in-kind" support on political campaigns in a single election year—most of it raised through compulsory dues or "agency fees." The workers forced to pay for this political support have rarely any voice in the selection of the union favored candidates or causes.

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, established in 1968, provides free legal aid to workers whose rights have been violated as a result of compulsory unionism. It is presently supporting more than 100 court cases involving the rights of employees across the nation.

If you'd like to help workers like Harry Beck, we'd like to hear from you.

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# BEST OF CURRENT WISDOM

### Foreign Policy

A stupendous elucidation of the Ayatollah Khomeini's Divine Fascism from Dr. Richard Falk, a Beethoven in the foreign policy art:

One of Washington's problems in formulating a position toward Khomeini's movement may be its relative ignorance of the ayatollah's philosophy and of Shi'ite Moslem doctrine generally. It is entirely different from the harsher Sunni variety that currently prevails in Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Pakistan, among other Moslem nations. The entourage around Khomeini, in fact, has had considerable involvement in human rights activities and is committed to a struggle against all forms of oppression. The constitution he proposes has been drafted by political moderates with a strong belief in minority rights. Contrary to the superficial reports in the American press about his attitude toward Jews, women, and others, Khomeini's Islamic republic can be expected to have a doctrine of social justice at its core; from all indications, it will be flexible in interpreting the Koran, keeping the "book of research" open to amendment and adaptation based on contemporary needs and aspirations.

[*Spring 1979*]

### The Nation

A dizzy report on the Ayatollah's Iran turns up exciting news for the circulation department of *Ms.* magazine:

There have been incidents of execution for homosexual rape and flogging for theft and alcohol consumption . . . . At the center, there has been a struggle mounted around the issue of the status of women. To Western liberals it has confirmed their worst fears about the fanatical character of the Khomeini movement. Yet the evidence is mixed. Demonstrations have been organized by women, their consciousnesses raised, their voices heard.

[*March 24, 1979*]

### The Chicago Sun-Times

Zoological findings full of dire import for New Age *Homo sapiens*:

Career women in modern Britain—under the added stress of looking after husbands and children—are growing hairy chests and hairy stomachs. They sometimes become lustful as well, just like the tired businessman of contemporary myth.

These findings are attributed to Ivor Mills, professor of medicine at Cambridge University and a respectable endocrinologist of 56 with 22 lines in "Who's Who."

[*July 24, 1977*]

### Kroch and Brentano's Book Chat

New Age Enlightenment spreads from the editorial page of the *New York Times* to the realms of scholarly anthropology:

Can intelligence be eaten? That is only one of the surprising assertions advanced by anthropologist Oscar Kiss Maerth. In this profound, disquieting, and extensively researched book he concludes that the emergence of man can be traced to the practice of cannibalism. He views man's aggression, obsessive sex drive, and unbalanced intellect as direct consequences of a carnivorous diet and explains how man can—indeed must—rediscover his true place in nature or face self-destruction.

[*Spring 1974*]

### The New Republic

Ken Bode, politics editor of the *New Republic*, reveals the faith of a fundamentalist Liberal:

I think Andy Young will turn out to be President Carter's best appointment. Because of his personal stature and the presidential confidence he obviously enjoys—and, yes, because of his outspokenness and the color of his skin—he is the right man in the right job at the right time.

[*November 12, 1977*]

### Time

A comforting pronunciamento from the Secretary of State, Mr. Cyrus Vance, regarding the common decency of the Plains, Georgia, Miracle Man and Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, moderate Stalinist:

When the two men eventually sit down together, they will get along well. Both of them are strong men and have similar dreams and aspirations about the most fundamental issues.

[*April 24, 1978*]

### Family Weekly

During a descant on boyfriend Hugh Hefner, Miss Barbie Benton rephrases the political thought of the *New York Times*'s editorial page:

Hef is highly intelligent and very political minded. He thinks the Presidency would be a step down from being Hugh Hefner, but he would love to take on the job—if only so he could make this country a moral and wonderful place to live. He thinks there are so many nasty shenanigans going on that we need a good man to go in and clean it up. He'd be a good politician because he likes to see everyone happy and he just can't stand the slums. He loves to spend money and would like everyone to have some.

[*September 29, 1974*]

### Partisan Review

The tortuous development of a *Partisan Review* intellectual as related by Mr. Leonard Michaels, chemist:

In the fifties I smoked marijuana, hash, and opium. Once I drank absinthe. Once I swallowed twenty glycerine caps of peyote. The social effects of "drugs," unless sexual, always seemed tedious. But I liked people who inclined the drug way. Especially if they didn't proselytize. I listened to long conversations about the phenomenological weirdness of familiar reality and the great spiritual questions this entailed—for example, "Do you think Wallace Stevens is a head?"

[*February 1974*]

### Newsweek

The governor of the sovereign state of California, Edmund G. Brown, betrays Kantian roots:

The trouble with the drunk-driving laws is that drunk and sober are metaphysical concepts.

[*November 25, 1974*]

### The Great Books Series

Shirley MacLaine, *ingenue terrible*, appraises freedom's suspicious metamorphosis in Mao's China, the polity without flies:

The notion of freedom was suddenly suspect; in American terms, there were no freedoms here of the variety we cherished; no freedom to publish, no opposition of political parties, no freedom to write books or create works of art. But there were other freedoms: freedom from starvation, discrimination, exploitation, slavery and early death.

[*You Can Get There From Here, 1975*]

### United Press International

Intellectual news from Oak Park, Illinois, where the WCTU drinking fountain has been replaced by the Rev. Gerald L. Krick:

While everyone else is celebrating Mother's Day Sunday, the Unitarian Universalist Church of Oak Park will turn things around and celebrate Non-Mother's Day.

The Rev. Gerald R. Krick said Friday: "The time has come to honor those women who have not had children.

"For too long childless women have been made to feel that they were inferior and unnatural . . . .

"Mother's Day is one of the worst times for such women. On this day their so-called inadequacy is made to stand out like a missing leg.

"The time has come to celebrate Non-Mother's Day and to recognize those whose social conscience has persuaded them not to have children.

"I don't have anything against mothers but I do have something against a society that forces or encourages them to become mothers."

[*May 10, 1975*]

### Vegetarian Times

The heretofore irreproachable editor of *Vegetarian Times* is notified of a shocking dereliction by an unsung rigorist now slowly starving somewhere amid our amber waves of grain:

I cringed when I read *Ms. Natural's* answer to Sue Seliny, that natural sea sponges could be used as an alternative to paper sanitary napkins or tampons.

Sea sponges are sea animals! Don't these creatures have as much right to live as the creatures on the land? Sure I care about the trees, but they're plants, and sponges are animals.

—Name withheld by request

[*January/February 1980*]

### National Public Radio

Addressing the rapt audience of NPR's nightly "radio magazine," "All Things Considered," Dr. Richard Ellman, noted critic and belletrist, calls for emunctory demonstrations on behalf of peace and enlightenment:

The next time you hear a politician talking about nuclear war, why not vomit all over him. Or soon we'll be vomiting on each other.

[*February 15, 1980*]

### The Washington Post

Honest Edward launches another whopper:

Health care in America is restricted to the privileged few. [Senator Edward Kennedy speaking before the National Conference on Rural America, Washington, D.C.]

[*April 15, 1975*]

### The New York Times

The illustrious *New York Times* reports on the first stirrings of yet another liberation movement whose time has come:

Cleve Backster, the patron of emotion in plants (on the basis of one unduplicated test), now reports finding evidence of feeling in yogurt. He said he had found a trace of jealousy (or pleasedness) between one yogurt container and the next, which had been fed some milk.

[*February 2, 1975*]

### Newsweek

Shana Alexander, resident sage of *Newsweek* magazine, glows while rattling off the benefits of life in a Red paradise, benefits about equal to the benefits of life in any American penitentiary:

If we know one thing about the government founded by Ho Chi Minh, it is that its social services are excellent: good health care, day care, and educational programs abound, especially for the poor.

[*April 28, 1975*]

### Human Events

Walter Cronkite solemnizes the idiotic:

. . . as a class when all of our wrongs are many, we do not sin. There is a purity of intent in journalism that is unique. No man is our master . . . [addressing the National Press Club].

[*December 8, 1973*]

### The Washington Post

Proof of renewed enthusiasm for the legal code of medieval Germany from feminist lawyer Florynce Kennedy,



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long-time advocate of trial by ordeal and compurgation:

Florynce Kennedy, a New York feminist attorney, called Uganda President Idi Amin "an outstanding figure" at a Yale Law School conference in New Haven Saturday.

Kennedy said that much of the public criticism of Amin can be traced to the attitude that "if a black person is in charge of a country he isn't really supposed to be in charge." Commenting on the charges that Amin has directed the killings of thousands in his country, she said: "Sovereign governments are in the process of killing people all the time." As to the alleged murder of Anglican Bishop Janini Luwum, she said, "The men who died in Vietnam aren't any less dead than Bishop Luwum."

[*February 28, 1977*]

**Burlington [Vt.] Free Press**

Another stupendous achievement for the Mabels, the Beulahs, the Thelmas of this world; and a pronunciamento that will ring through the halls of history:

The first institute for the study of feminist thought finished its opening session with the participants, all women, doing a dance of karate kicks as a red-haired dog named Emma Goldman roamed the floor.

The dog—named for the early 20th century anarchist—belonged to the teacher of a class on "Feminism and Socialism" and the karate moves were lifted from a self-defense course.

The two classes reflect the diversity of the five weeks of lectures and discussions at the institute, named Sagaris for the double-edged sword of the Amazons representing women's strength. . . .

Linda, a young blonde who asked that her last name not be used, . . . said: "It's been very politicizing for all the straights and now they know they should support us instead of being ashamed of us. We are, after all, on the same side. We are all for women.

"It doesn't matter who you're in bed with if you're in bed when the revolution comes," she said.

[*August 1, 1975*]

**Ms.**

The scientific method as applied to the study of politics by progressive and enlightened women of the fevered brow:

Is there a woman President in America's future? What better way to find out than to ask some of the world's most famous psychics? The occasion: a Psychic Sail around Manhattan to benefit Long Island's Hampton Animal Shelter.

A dozen psychics tackled the big question. While two—a Tarot expert and a numerologist—ruled out a woman President "for the foreseeable future," the rest thought otherwise, with seven pinpointing 1984 and 1988. Other predictions: two women will run in 1976, one having light hair and an M in her name; our first woman President will be the wife of a famous person; 50 percent of Congress will be female within 25 years.

[*November 1974*]

**Columbia Journalism Review**

Revelations of diabolical phenomena vouchsafed a grateful citizenry by Prof. Herbert J. Gans, sociologist:

Like the news of other countries, American news values its own nation above all others, even though it sometimes disparages blatant patriotism. This ethnocentrism is most explicit in foreign news. . . .

The clearest expression of ethnocentrism, in all countries, appears in war news. While reporting the Vietnam War, the news media described the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front as "the enemy," as if they were the enemy of the news media. . . . The end of the war was typically headlined as "the fall of South Vietnam," with scarcely a recognition that, by other values, it could also be considered a liberation, or, neutrally, a change in governments.

[*January/February 1979*]

**Rolling Stone**

The inimitable Mr. David Felton notifies his ardent readers of yet another learning experience available to all post-Kafka *intellectuels*:

I wanted a bunny suit. I just felt like it. Naturally most of the shops were clean out of bunnies, it being the day before Easter, but finally one guy told me he might have one my size if I rushed right down. Which I did. And he did—a white woolly one with floppy pink ears and a dumb round tail. And I wore it right out of the store, got in the car, drove down Hollywood Boulevard . . . and this amazing thing happened. People began staring at me, and instead of feeling embarrassed, I felt . . . I don't know . . . *strengthened*, more confident, healthier.

[*December 1, 1977*]

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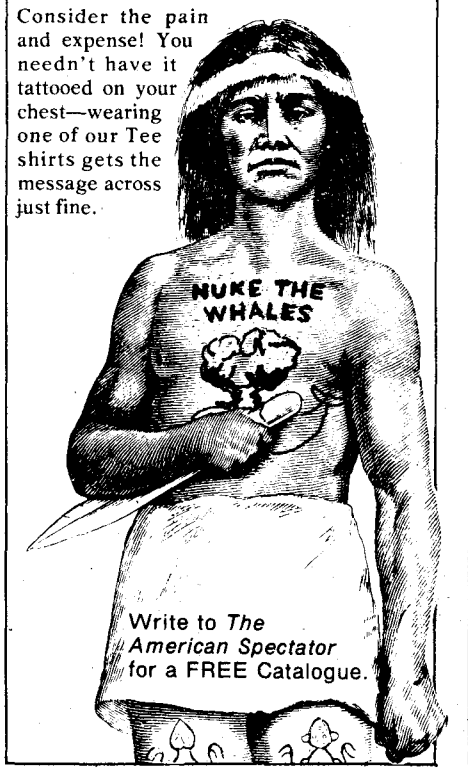


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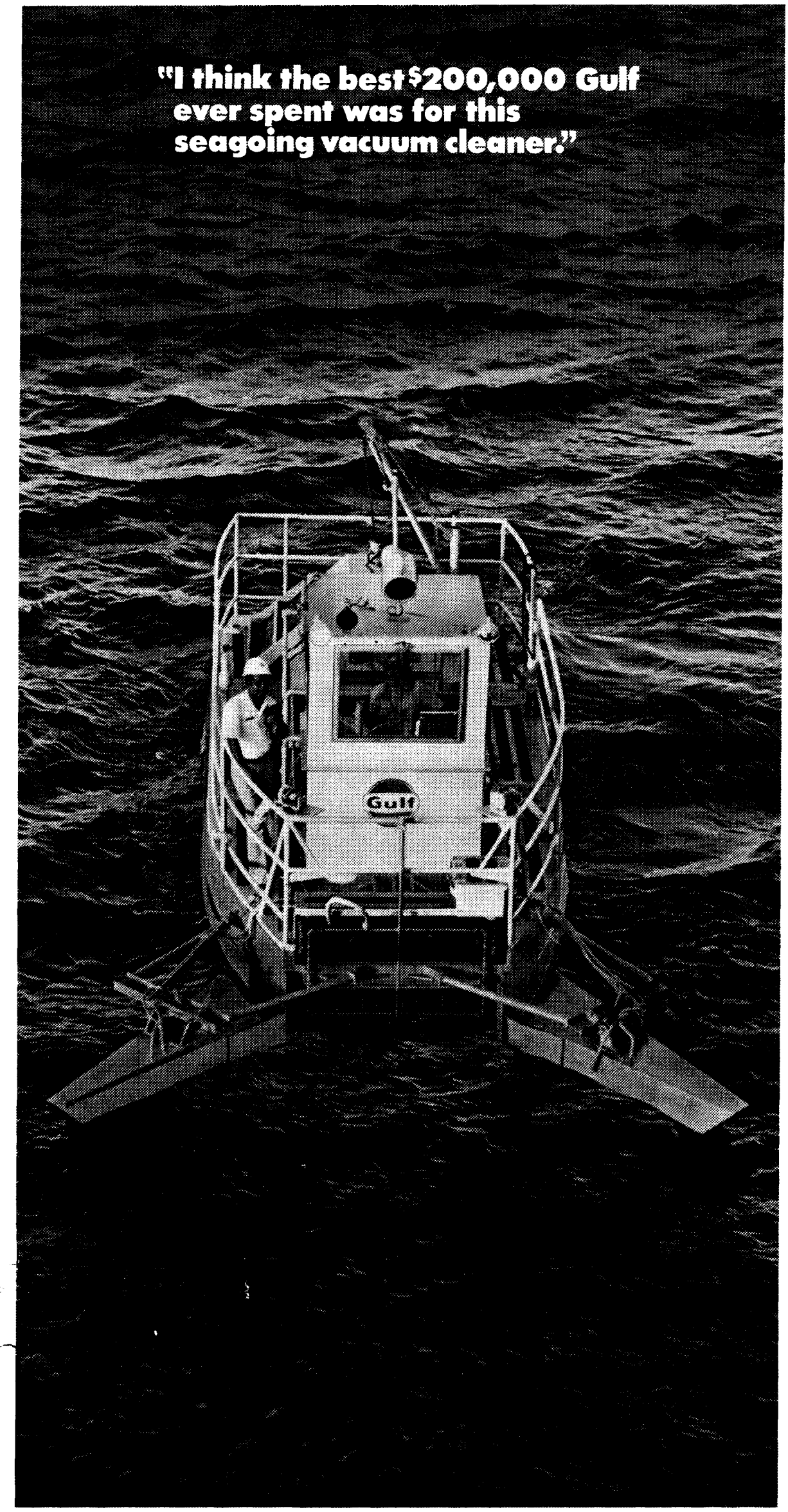


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